Psychoanalysis on Trial—*Readers' Postscripts*

THE Nation

October 28, 1950

CAMPAIGN REPORT FROM THE FIELD

Taft's Mortal Struggle

BY HERMAN KOGAN

Pennsylvania: Anything Goes

BY ROBERT BENDINER

*

Snatch as Snatch Can

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

The High Cost of Secrecy

BY ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

OCT [illegible] 1950

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS'S RETIREMENT OWING to ill health both from his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer and from the House of Commons is a serious loss to the government, the Labor Party, and the British nation. As the London *Times* says in an editorial: "Sir Stafford Cripps has written a chapter of his own in English political history. . . . Even his loudest critics have recognized the power of mind and convinced integrity which have placed him on an eminence among his colleagues." It is just about three years since Cripps took over the Exchequer and began the task of integrating the financial and economic policies of the Labor government—an integration without which no real planning was possible. The very considerable success he achieved under conditions of enormous difficulty is attested by the growing strength of Britain's financial position, internal and external, and by the steady rise in the nation's productivity. His detractors like to paint him as a cold, calculating man who took a sadistic delight in imposing measures of austerity. It is a completely false portrait. Cripps chose the hard way both for himself and his fellow-countrymen because he understood that in Britain's straitened circumstances it was essential to put first things first. By refusing to yield to the clamor of the popular press and, at times, to pressure from within his own party he made it possible for Britain to hold inflation at bay while steadily building up the Welfare State —the objective to which he has devoted much of his life.

*

CRIPPS'S SUCCESSOR, HUGH GAITSKELL, IS young as British Cabinet Ministers go—only forty-four —and has come up through the ranks very rapidly. In the thirties he headed the Department of Political Economy at University College, London, and during the war, as a temporary civil servant, made a reputation in several responsible administrative positions. Elected to Parliament for the first time in 1945, he was soon given a junior post as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Fuel and Power and a year later became the head of the same department. Since the general election last February, he has been Minister of State for Economic Affairs and the chief among Cripps's lieutenants. It is conceded that these promotions have been won on merit, for Gaitskell, while well liked by his colleagues, has no personal following and has not been associated with any group or clique in the Labor Party. His appointment has been taken as a sign that Prime Minister Attlee's position as party leader is now so strong that he is able to disregard intra-party politics. Undoubtedly, Gaitskell was also Cripps's choice as the man most likely to hold Britain's economy on the course it has been following.

*

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT'S REPUTATION FOR integrity, for unsullied devotion to the truth, has been coming apart at the seams ever since he encouraged Joe McCarthy to keep bringing up "cases" against the State Department. Now, during his campaign for reelection, he has made an attack on the late Sidney Hillman and the C. I. O Political Action Committee which suggests that the seams no longer exist. "I do not know," says Taft, with obvious innuendo, whether or not the P. A. C. "is being guided by Communists." He harks back to 1922 to charge that Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention received a "congratulatory message" from the Soviet Union. In fact he knows that the Communists have nothing to do with the P. A. C., that the C. I. O. has thrown out its Communists, and that it is run by anti-Communists. If he does not know the truth about Hillman, he could easily have learned that Hillman fought the Communists and drove them from influence in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers during the twenties, and that P. A. C. Director Jack Kroll, an Amalgamated vice-president, helped Hillman do so. Once again, therefore, Taft stoops to the level of McCarthyism; he fears his political enemies and therefore smears them with complete unscrupulousness. The legend of this "honesty" is becoming a portentous hoax. The theory that he holds down Republican "primitives" like Jenner, Cain, and Wherry is discredited by his voting record, which demonstrates that he has placed himself in the camp of the "primitives." Whatever usefulness he may once have had has passed, and the voters of Ohio will be wise if they end his political career.

*

GETULIO VARGAS IS BACK, HAVING BEEN elected President of Brazil by a clear majority in a free and orderly election. What he plans to do on his return to Cattete Palace in Rio next January 31 is puzzling Washington as well as the Latin American capitals. In his first public statement after his victory he announced

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that he favored a "Laborite State," referring to the English and Scandinavian governments, as an ideal centrist solution for the threats of totalitarianism from the right and the left. More uncertain is his stand on foreign affairs, especially his attitude toward the United States. Conventional declarations of friendship for the United States should not be allowed to obscure certain significant statements made in the course of his campaign. Taking full advantage of the great unpopularity of the incumbent government, Vargas attacked President Enrico Gaspar Dutra on two grounds, corruption and excessive subservience to the United States. He accused Dutra of having squandered a surplus of more than $750,000,000 on hand in the Brazilian treasury at the time that Vargas was overthrown. And he repeated his old charges that he had been ousted with the connivance of American diplomats, including Spruille Braden and the former ambassador in Rio, Adolf A. Berle, Jr. Vargas's running mate, Joao Cafe Filho, has participated in public meetings organized to obtain adherents to the Stockholm peace pledge and has been frequently denounced by the Catholic press as a Free Mason and fellow-traveler. Among the generals supporting Vargas, there are some, notably General Newton Estillac Leal, now mentioned as probable Minister of War, who are known to favor an independent Brazilian policy, absolutely neutral as between Russia and the United States. The return of Vargas may create more than one problem for Washington.

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IN THE ALWAYS HIGHLY CHARGED RADIO world faces are red and the air is blue because after prolonged discussion and research the Federal Communications Commission has given a green light to the C. B. S. color-television system. Most of the leading set-makers have declared war against both C. B. S. and the F. C. C., whose decision, they believe, is going to hurt their sales badly. Radio Corporation of America, the bitter rival of C. B. S., to which it lost the battle of the long-playing record, and Pilot Radio are both seeking injunctions to force the F. C. C. to reverse itself. Admittedly the C. B. S. system is far from perfect, although it is said to achieve a high degree of fidelity in reproduction of color. But it is "incompatible"—that is to say, its programs cannot be received on existing television sets unless these are fitted with "adaptors" and "converters"; moreover, it provides for a maximum 12½-inch image. Why, then, it is being asked, could not the F. C. C. delay action until a better system was available? The trouble is that no "compatible" method of transmitting and receiving color images is in sight, and the longer the delay the more sets requiring conversion will be in use. We are inclined to think, therefore, that the F. C. C. has come to the right conclusion. But in any case it is the televiewers who will have the last word. If the sys-

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tem is as poor as the rivals of C. B. S. aver, most set owners will confine their viewing to black-and-white programs. We don't see why the directors of R. C. A., who we understand have faith in competitive free enterprise, should shirk this test.

*

SENATOR McCARRAN, WHO HAD TO PRETEND to dislike fascists as well as Communists to stuff his Subversive Activities Act down the people's gullets, now complains that the Administration is trying to "discredit" the law by using it to prohibit entry of Spanish citizens who are or have been members of the Falange. Yet the law requires the Justice Department to bar aliens who "at any time" have been members of a "totalitarian" party, here or abroad. A totalitarian nation is defined as characterized by the existence of a single political party, dictatorially organized, closely identified with the government, and forcibly suppressing opposition. That fits exactly the nature of Franco's Falange and its relationship with Franco's dictatorial government. The law is stupid in its theory that America must be protected against subversion by a hermetical seal at its borders, but that is the responsibility of McCarran and the other Congressmen who voted to override the President's veto. Just as the President predicted, no Communist groups are registering and none of the law's registration provisions can be enforced without extended legal proceedings. The law should be repealed, root and branch, before we are made more ridiculous in our own eyes and the eyes of the world, but McCarran is the last man in Congress to complain when the Administration does what his law orders done.

Mr. Hanley and the Press

IT IS hard to say which is the more shocking, the personally ruthless and politically immoral way in which Governor Dewey disposed of Joe R. Hanley or the cynical reaction of the New York press, save only for the *Post*. Conceding that "the explanations do not fully explain," the lofty *Times* is admittedly "troubled by this letter," in which Hanley wrote to his creditor, W. Kingsland Macy, "If I will consent to take the nomination to the United States Senate, I am definitely assured of being able to clean up my financial obligations within ninety days." But, says the *Times,* we must allow for the reputation of both Hanley and Dewey for honesty, and anyway, would the Democrats in a similar situation "have been so cruel as to refuse to 'take care of' Joe Hanley?"

What the *Times* chooses to regard as a regrettably irregular but none the less human act of consideration was nothing of the sort. If it were only a question of rearranging the ticket to enhance the party's chances and at the same time give a loyal party colleague a "consolation prize," Dewey would have raised no objection to Hanley's running for renomination as lieutenant governor. But Mr. Dewey had other fish to fry. The morning after the famous letter was made public, he told the press that Hanley had said "he'd prefer to run for lieutenant governor," but that he, Dewey, refused to accept a third-term nomination unless Hanley agreed to be the Senatorial nominee. Why was he so determined on this course? Was it because he wanted to use Hanley to keep the Senatorial nomination from his party enemy, W. Kingsland Macy, who wanted it desperately? Or was it because he knew that Hanley, likewise an enemy, would be no match for Lehman and would thus be permanently eased out of the picture? Whatever the reasoning, Dewey's thoughts were, as always, for Dewey; and he was ready to use the United States Senate as a discard pile for a broken old man, in failing health and heavily in debt, a man who had been forced to sell his candidacy for the governorship and was, by his own admission, "humiliated, disappointed, and heartsick."

If the *Times* editorial was mealy-mouthed, at least it can be said that the news columns handled the story honestly and fairly. That cannot be said of the *Herald Tribune,* which subordinated the story to Dewey's timely blessing on Eisenhower as his Presidential choice for 1952, led off with Hanley's wretched denial that there had ever been a deal, and left the damning letter itself to page 17. Editorially, the paper appeared to think that the most regrettable aspect of the case was that Hanley had committed his bitter thoughts to writing and suggested that, even so, the public might see in it "the revelation of qualities which evoke its sympathy and even its admiration."

Of the tabloids nothing morally illuminating could have been expected, and only a strange silence has come from Hearst's *Journal-American,* which is torn between its horror of a Democratic victory and its dislike of Dewey, fortified by a natural affinity for the Macys and Gannetts of the G. O. P. who deliberately, it seems, allowed the Hanley letter to come into the hands of the opposition. But it fell to the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram and Sun* to reach the nadir in this low affair by attempting to offset the Hanley missive with a screaming front-page head: "Lehman Note Backing Alger Hiss Revealed." The letter, expressing confidence in Hiss's loyalty, it turns out, was written the day after he made his initial appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities—nine months before his first trial started, four months before he was indicted, and three months before the damaging "pumpkin papers" had been produced by Whittaker Chambers. In short, Lehman wrote to Hiss at a time when the Chambers story was discounted even by Senator Mundt and all but one of his colleagues on the Un-American Activities

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Committee. And this is the story that the paper played up as "a shot in the arm to Republican strategists."

Election Day will tell whether the voters continue to take their customary dim view of the press as a political guide. Except for the Lehman-Hanley race—and fortunately there would seem to be little chance now that Lehman can lose—the danger lies less in the choices they make than in the growth of cynicism and apathy induced by the corruption of both major parties. The experience of other states shows that the direct primary is not the sole answer, but New Yorkers have reason to ask themselves whether it is not better than their present system of having to approve the dictated choice of one boss-ridden gang or the other.

Unanswered Questions

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHAT we need more than anything else is a clarification of our Far Eastern policy. That this should still be true after the President's carefully prepared address in San Francisco on his return from the meeting with MacArthur is a commentary on both events. But the fact can scarcely be denied. It was dramatized by Mr. Truman's explosive response to a press conference question as to whether he and MacArthur now agree on Formosa. The Formosa issue, said the President angrily, was settled a month or five weeks ago. But was it? Both the President's vehemence and reports from Tokyo indicate that the General has not changed his views about Formosa or any other aspect of Asian policy.

But signs of possible remaining disagreements between the Administration and its Far Eastern proconsul are not the only, or chief, sources of doubt. Asia bristles with situations which call for a clear and specific statement of the government's attitude and what it proposes to do. Mr. Truman's San Francisco speech was a forceful enunciation of the broad principles upon which America's foreign policy rests. It may prove helpful in offsetting the widespread suspicions of American aims in Asia expressed so frankly at the recent Pacific Relations conference in Lucknow. But even for this purpose the speech suffered from an excess of generalization. What was called for was something firm, something to clothe with reality such large words as "freedom," "justice," "human dignity." The question asked about Formosa was inevitable and proper. It symbolized dozens of others that are waiting to be answered.

An even more urgent one is what has been decided about the future of Korea. Ever since the first South Koreans crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel *The Nation* has given warning of the danger implicit in this action. Why, we asked, were Syngman Rhee's soldiers allowed to move into North Korea ahead of the rest of the U. N. forces? What purpose could this have other than to establish the power of the Rhee government in the north before the United Nations could act or even formulate a policy for the Communist area? Now we see that this is precisely what has happened. In defiance of the decision of the U. N. Interim Committee on Korea that the authority of the South Korean regime should be limited to the area south of the border, Syngman Rhee has sent civil governors and other administrative personnel, including police, to take over control in the "liberated" parts of Northern Korea. Along with these officials have gone representatives of right-wing youth organizations who, according to Rhee, will "teach the people about democracy." Thus while the United Nations committee at Lake Success lays its plans for elections and all the other paraphernalia of democratic reorganization, the Seoul regime is preparing to present the U. N. with an accomplished fact. This maneuver could, of course, be stopped and reversed by General MacArthur, who as United Nations commander was responsible for the northward drive of the South Koreans in the first place. But now we learn that South Korean contingents have been ordered to drive through to the Manchurian border, while the other U. N. troops halt beyond shooting distance to the south.

The idea, apparently, is to prevent the meeting of American and Chinese forces on the frontier and so minimize the chance of incidents which might lead to war. But nothing would seem so well calculated to anger Peking and increase the danger of Chinese intervention as to permit the triumphant soldiers of Syngman Rhee to occupy the border area. We have been warned several times by Indian observers that the one thing China will not tolerate is the hostile Seoul regime as its next-door neighbor. The most prudent as well as the most humane course would be to call a general halt some distance south of the border, since the defeat of North Korea obviously does not require the physical conquest of every foot of its soil. "Mopping up" is an unavoidable duty, but it could easily be carried to the point of sheer reprisal, especially when troops are inflamed by sickening enemy atrocities.

Other Korean questions demand clarification. Will the plan for country-wide elections, announced by the Interim Committee on Korea, actually be carried into effect? No sooner were the protests of the Syngman Rhee government reported at Lake Success by Foreign Minister Limb, than Carlos P. Romulo, chairman of the committee, announced that the United Nations was "not yet committed" regarding elections. According to the New York *Times* he warned his committee that it should "tread cautiously to avoid inciting the distrust of President Rhee." What is our government's position on these matters? Secretary Acheson has said that Korea must be made an example of the sort of world the Western de-

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mocracies truly stand for, a test of their ability to create a healthy, free society as well as to stop aggression. The time to publish our plans for this job is now, while the bombing and shooting are still going on.

As to Formosa, the Administration temporarily resolved the dangerous dilemma created by MacArthur's visit to Chiang Kai-shek by tossing the issue into the lap of the United Nations. The device was ingenious, but it is not a solution. Nationalist China and Communist China have both strongly attacked the move as a threat to China's rights as set forth at Cairo and Potsdam. And this it clearly is. Neither the United States nor any other power considered the control of Formosa an open question until North Korean aggression gave President Truman an excuse to "neutralize" the island. Nothing could have been more explicit than the assurances given by President Truman and Secretary Acheson last January. Today, with the Formosa question about to come up in the United Nations, it may be well to recall the exact language used by Mr. Acheson in explaining the President's statement of January 5.

> It is important that our position in regard to China should never be subject to the slightest doubt or the slightest question.
>
> Now, what has that position been? In the middle of the war the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the President of China agreed at Cairo that among the areas stolen from China by Japan was Formosa, and Formosa should go back to China. As the President pointed out, that statement was incorporated in the declaration at Potsdam, and that declaration at Potsdam was conveyed to the Japanese as one of the terms of their surrender and was accepted by them, and the surrender was made on that basis.
>
> Shortly after that, the Island of Formosa was turned over to the Chinese in accordance with the declarations made and with the conditions of the surrender.
>
> The Chinese have administered Formosa for four years. Neither the United States nor any other ally ever questioned that authority and that occupation. When Formosa was made a province of China, nobody raised any lawyers' doubts about that. That was regarded as in accordance with the commitments.
>
> Now in the opinion of some the situation is changed. They believe that the forces now in control of the mainland of China, the forces which undoubtedly will soon be recognized by some other countries, are not friendly to us, and therefore they want to say, "Well, we have to wait for a treaty." We did not wait for a treaty on Korea. We did not wait for a treaty on the Kuriles. We did not wait for a treaty on the islands over which we have trusteeship. Whatever may be the legal situation, the United States of America, Mr. Truman said, is not going to quibble on any lawyers' words about the integrity of its position. That is where we stand.

In the light of these words, the American people, as well as Chinese of all factions, have a right to know more about Formosa than they were told when Mr. Truman came back from Wake Island. For the issue is truly explosive. Even more than Korea, it may decide whether we shall have peace or war in Asia. We do not know what policy our government intends to advocate in the United Nations; we do not know whether it still considers itself bound by the pledge made at Cairo.

Still less do we know how far the Administration plans to carry its aid to France in Indo-China. The mounting successes of Ho Chi Minh's army offer grim evidence of the struggle that lies ahead. Dispatches during the past week report new shipments of American arms on the way to Saigon, but the demand from France for more massive help is certain to increase as its forces prepare to recoup their recent staggering losses and Ho Chi Minh gets ready to renew the offensive, doubtless with solid material aid coming in from China across the broad border his recent advance has opened. Will our government continue to throw arms and money into this most ugly of all colonial wars, or will it use its influence to bring about a settlement through the good offices of the United Nations, as was done in Indonesia?

These are only a few obvious samples to demonstrate our need for facts about American intentions in the Far East. We would like Mr. Truman to lay them against the background of the principles proclaimed in his San Francisco speech, and then tell us how, in each case, our government plans to translate those principles into fact. Perhaps by the time these words are read he will have done so in his address before the United Nations. If so, he will have gone far to establish confidence in place of doubt and hope in place of despair.

Notes from Capitol Hill

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, October 19

THIS is the season for the melancholy biennial check of seniority records in Congress to discover which Republicans would take over the important committees if their party should win a majority in House and Senate. The prospect is not exactly pleasing.

In the Senate the majority floor leader would once again be Nebraska's merry mortician, Senator Wherry. The chairman of the tax-writing Finance Committee would be Senator Millikin of Colorado, if he wins reelection; if he loses, as seems distinctly possible, the tax chief probably would be Wherry's Nebraska colleague, Senator Butler. In the event that Senator Vandenberg's health does not improve, Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, asuming he is reelected, would probably be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Taft, if reelected, can be expected to continue as chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, from which,

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with pushes from sundry business lobbyists, the Taft-Hartley act emerged in 1947. Senator Cain of Washington would head the Public Works Committee. Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin would be chairman of Executive Expenditures, holder of a free-wheeling license to "investigate" every executive agency.

In the House, Joe Martin of Massachusetts would naturally again be Speaker, and Representative Allen of Illinois, his loyal servant, would become chairman of the powerful Rules Committee. "Meat-Ax" John Taber of New York would resume control of Appropriations, and Representative Reed of New York would head the tax-originating Ways and Means Committee. Dewey Short, the Oxford-educated and somewhat bizarre character from Missouri's Ozarks, would take over Armed Services. Representative McConnell of Pennsylvania, wrong on the whole Taft-Hartley act, would run the Education and Labor Committee. Representative Rees, who thinks the President's loyalty program is not stringent enough, would be chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Dondero of Michigan, first to invoke Congressional immunity and spread unfounded charges about the defendants in the *Amerasia* case, would control Public Works.

The results in a few key Senatorial contests may have a lot to do with future Republican use of the outcry about communism in the Administration. If Senators Hickenlooper and Wiley should be reelected in Iowa and Wisconsin, if Senators Tydings and McMahon should be beaten in Maryland and Connecticut, and if Representative Nixon of the Un-American Activities Committee should defeat Helen Douglas in California, every Republican candidate would be sure that the royal road to victory lay in baiting the State Department. Tydings and McMahon, Democrats, signed the majority report calling McCarthy's charges a "fraud" and a "hoax"—which they were. Hickenlooper, a Republican, was McCarthy's boy on the investigating committee. Wiley, after months of silence, has begun using McCarthy's charges as campaign material in Wisconsin.

IN AN office of the National Security Resources Board hangs a framed sketch of a horny reptile captioned: "Consider the turtle. He makes progress only when his neck is out." This may reasonably be interpreted as the present motto of Chairman W. Stuart Symington, one of the few men in Washington who seem to think there is any hurry about organizing the country for a remobilization program that will cost fifty billion dollars a year and instituting stabilization measures to check the consequent inevitable inflation.

Symington stuck his neck out by insisting that the Federal Reserve Board use its power to stiffen credit controls. Half the retailers in the country are complaining that they were not consulted and that the controls are too stringent, and the Reserve Board promptly let the story leak out that it had acted "reluctantly." Symington stuck out his neck when he forced limitations on housing loans, to which some veterans' groups object, and again when he strenuously urged William H. Harrison, who is supposed to run the Defense Production Authority in the Commerce Department, to forbid the use of scarce building materials for bowling alleys, race tracks, and dance halls. He is pushing Harrison for decisions on how much still can be allotted to automobiles, how much to tractors, how much to tanks and guns.

He may have stuck his neck out farthest when he chose Alan Valentine, former president of the University of Rochester, as Economic Stabilization Administrator. President Truman and Mr. Symington have had bad luck in persuading first-class people to take government jobs, but Dr. Valentine still seems a rather curious appointment. His record suggests a strong antipathy for the New Deal, and he was a director of the Freeport Sulphur Company when sulphur prices were boosted after the Korean war. Reliable sources declare that Dr. Valentine personally opposed the boost. Nevertheless, his general philosophy of government may make it hard for him to recommend the controls needed to prevent the value of money from evaporating.

SOME weeks ago I wrote about the forthcoming report of Representative Buchanan's special House Lobby Investigating Committee and its blunt conclusion that business groups have the advantage in lobbying. Republican committee members, including Representatives Clarence Brown of Ohio and Charles Halleck of Indiana, tried to get the report suppressed until "sometime in December," but it probably will be published—unsigned by the G. O. P. members—before this issue of *The Nation* reaches readers. In the meantime Buchanan is also releasing a special report revealing how business groups are now lobbying in the country's "grass roots" rather than in Washington, and how much money they spend that way that is never reported under the Lobby Registration Act of 1946.

Questionnaires sent by Buchanan to 182 of the country's biggest corporations show that 152 of them spent more than $32,000,000 in the past three and one-half years for advertisements dealing with public issues, distribution of books and pamphlets, and contributions to trade associations and propaganda outfits. Direct lobbying expenses reported by the same group of corporations totaled only $776,000.

Not all the $32,000,000 was necessarily spent for lobbying; trade associations perform many services other than influencing legislators. But the report makes it clear that smart officials have discovered that publication of anti-public-power advertisements in a Congressman's home district may be more effective than buttonholing

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the Congressman in Washington. Some blue-ribbon companies, according to the report, freely spend their stockholders' money to finance, either through gifts or the purchase of "educational" literature, such hate-the-Administration outfits as the Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Economic Council, and the Foundation for Economic Freedom.

These are simply propaganda outfits. Their "literature" is purchased by General Motors, Armco Steel, Chrysler, Gulf Oil, and a remarkable set of public utilities. It may be distributed to management officials, to "supervisory" employees, and even sometimes to the workers themselves. This is a legitimate political activity, designed to affect legislation by one-sided discussion of public issues. But the people may also legitimately demand full disclosure of who spent how much, and in what ways, to make them think as business firms would like them to think.

The Big Four Are Talking

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, October 21

THINGS have been happening as rapidly in the U. N. Assembly as in Korea. The radical reform of the U. N. organization embodied in the Acheson plan was passed yesterday by the Political Committee fifty to five, with India and a few other countries abstaining. A minor concession was made to Russia by electing the Big Five to the Peace Observation Commission, the "watchdog unit," and by adopting a Soviet resolution calling the Security Council's attention to its duty of working out arrangements for an international armed force. But a French amendment made it clear that the seven-power resolution increasing the power of the Assembly was not affected by the adoption of the Soviet resolution, and in consequence the Soviet bloc abstained on its own proposal.

The prevailing conciliatory atmosphere, however, continued today when fifty-nine countries cast a unanimous vote to ask the Big Five to renew talks on world problems and tensions—the essence of the Vishinsky proposal. Vishinsky still fought to have Communist China take part in those talks but, having been defeated, was one of the first to raise his hand in approval of the resolution. At the same time Malik reiterated Russia's desire for peace, addressing a group of Americans at the offices of the Russian delegation to the United Nations in Park Avenue, while the United States was notified of Moscow's readiness to discuss a Japanese treaty, and in Prague Molotov urged a Big Four agreement leading to a treaty with Germany. It is obvious today that during the coming week, when the Political Committee starts to discuss Vishinsky's three-point proposal calling for a prohibition of war propaganda, the banning of atomic weapons, and Big Five negotiations for a peace pact, the Russians will push forward their initiative.

It was fascinating to watch the shifting attitude of the majority, which, on the one hand, follows the United States in its policy of strengthening the authority of the Assembly and yet, on the other, is visibly inclined to support any proposal—as, on Friday, the Syrian-Iraq resolution—that offers a way out of the present world tension and a hope of ending the cold war. News from London and Paris, especially from London, indicates how rapidly the feeling is growing that a new attempt at rapprochement with the Russians should be made in the U. N.

In order to promote this tendency Russia could go farther. First, in addition to talks on Japan and Germany, it could offer to conclude the Austrian treaty, as Bevin urged in his address to the Assembly; second, it might accept international control of atomic facilities joined to a plan for placing all atomic energy at the service of industrial progress and world reconstruction; third, it might agree to disarm, completely—so that the West would not say, as it did of the original Russian proposal for disarmament by a third, that the Soviet army was left master of the situation; fourth, it might urge international action for raising the standard of living in Asia and other backward regions by removing all restrictions on trade between East and West and thereby promoting the world's economic recovery; fifth, it might announce that it would permit the free circulation and exchange of ideas and welcome any number of American scholars, journalists, and tourists to Russia, in the expectation, of course, that the United States would reciprocate—which would presuppose some modification of the McCarran law.

With such an agenda, renewed talks among the great powers would have a chance of success. Stalin could be sure that the Russian system would not break up as a result. What would break up, and very soon, would be the present anti-Russian coalition—at Lake Success and elsewhere.

COLONIALISM has again had its day at Flushing Meadow. A compromise resolution on Libya, first adopted by the Special Political Committee and then by the full Assembly, embodies three fundamental decisions: that a duly representative national assembly shall be convened in Libya as early as possible and not later than January 1, 1951; that this assembly shall set

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up a provisional government, "bearing in mind April 1, 1951, as the target date"; that the authority now held by Great Britain and France as administering powers under the peace treaty with Italy shall be progressively transferred to the new government and completely relinquished by January 1, 1952.

Heated debate preceded the passage of the resolution. Before finally accepting it, the Assembly rejected a more radical Russian proposal that the three parts of Libya—Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan—be united in a single state under a national government with legislative and executive branches, and that within three months all foreign troops and military personnel be withdrawn and military bases dismantled.

The fate of the French and British bases in Libya is undoubtedly preoccupying Western European authorities. The United States, too, has a military stake in the region; just east of Tripoli, at Mallaha, it has an important air base lately renamed Wheelus Field. In Cyrenaica the British enjoy a strong position, thanks to the devotion and gratitude of the Emir el Mahdi el Senussi, who was neither an emir nor anything like it when the British raised him to power last September but a fugitive in Egypt from Italian rule. France also has its favorite, one Ahmed en Sif en Nasr, who rules over the Fezzan, the least populous part of Libya.

The very able report of the U. N. Commissioner for Libya, Adrian Pelt, urges that Libya be made truly independent. But the situation is so complicated by the great powers' strategic interests, as well as by Libya's own economic limitations and its need of external aid, that the independence granted under the resolution may turn out to be only nominal. The Pelt report makes it clear that if the people of Libya are to be given a real chance to succeed, the member states of the United Nations must accept the responsibility of arranging financial and technical assistance for Libya, through U. N., governmental, or private sources. Such assistance, the report says, will be needed not only between now and 1952 but also in the period after Libya has become independent and before it is taken into the U. N.

The problem of independence, of course, works both ways. The history of the past twenty years has shown that even if a colonial power institutes enlightened reforms and pursues a constructive policy, a native population which craves independence will not be satisfied. Last summer in Paris I met fifteen or twenty representatives of various African liberation movements in circumstances which permitted us to talk with complete frankness. The spokesman for modern Morocco, which French propaganda presents, with considerable justification, as a model of progressive, post-war colonialism, voiced the same aspirations as did those from the most atrociously exploited areas, ruled only for the sake of their natural resources.

When the Sultan of Morocco visited Paris two weeks ago, he demanded that the promised reform of the protectorate and of the "Sherifian Empire" be carried out at once, though the French administration insists that the Moroccan people must be educated gradually for self-government. Backed by the powerful leaders of the Istiqlal Party, Ahmed Balafredj and Allal el Fazai, and by a popular front which extends from rightist groups to Communists—in all the recent elections the nationalist ticket has been victorious—the Sultan will be satisfied with nothing less than real independence within the French Union.

I was reminded of my talks with the anti-colonial leaders in Paris when an Indo-Chinese representative at the U. N., an opponent of Bao Dai but not a Communist, told me that a year ago Ho Chi Minh was still willing to make a settlement with the French so that he would not have to depend wholly on the Communists. This man then added, "Soon the French will be forced to deal with him." That was only two months ago. Today Ho Chi Minh is reliably reported to be still disposed to negotiate with the French.

Colonialism will continue to be a problem for individual states and the United Nations and a favorite theme in the propaganda war between West and East. In his speech at San Francisco on October 17 President Truman was thought by many American commentators to have scored a hit when he denounced the "new colonialism, Soviet style," and declared that while the West aimed to develop colonies into independent nations, the Soviet Union converts nations into colonies. However, it is not the American public that must be convinced but the peoples of Asia. American delegates at the recent Lucknow conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations were shocked when they learned that the people of Pakistan and India harbored "an extreme suspicion"—I quote from the New York *Times*—"that [American] aid would have strings attached."

The French, these days, are concerned lest their government, under pressure from Washington, permit the rearming of Germany and the inevitable restoration of the old Reichswehr general staff. They say: "The Americans are right—a Russian occupation of France would be a terrible thing. But so far we have had three German occupations, and not one Russian." Colonial peoples use the same reasoning. They may admit that theoretically the "new colonialism, Soviet style," is worse than the colonial regimes set up in the past, but old-style colonialism is what they have—and what they are actively striving to throw off. And so they regard with suspicion any sort of aid or any program of reform offered as a substitute for early and genuine independence. To be effective politically, American aid to undeveloped areas, direct or through the U. N., must be part of a firm policy of backing national freedom.

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The Making of a Liberal

BY HARTLEY E. HOWE

THE liberals of New York State are in the happy position of a baseball manager who has acquired a good, reliable second baseman only to have him develop into another Joe DiMaggio. New York's junior Senator, Herbert H. Lehman, respected and admired but also somewhat taken for granted by his constituents, has revealed the qualities of heart and style that make a champion—in politics or in baseball.

Mr. Lehman showed his stuff that Tuesday afternoon in mid-September when the hodge-podge McCarran-Mundt-Kilgore "anti-Communist" bill came to a vote. The measure was obviously slated for overwhelming passage. The conservatives had long roared for it; the liberals found themselves maneuvered into a position where most of them felt they had to vote for it. Of the seven Senators who did vote against it only Herbert Lehman was up for reelection this fall.

Senator Lehman had no illusions about what he was doing. He told the Senate, "My conscience will be easier, though I realize my political prospects will be more difficult. I shall cast my vote for the liberties of our people." His action was the climax of an exceptionally useful first year in the Senate. Like many things he had done earlier in his career, it attracted less attention than it deserved. Franklin Roosevelt once referred to Lehman as his "good right arm," and he remained typed in the public mind in this honorable but slightly subordinate capacity.

His debut as a legislator last winter shattered this myth. He plunged headlong into debate and the introduction of legislation. He offered a strengthened rent-control law and fought for middle-income housing. His amendments broadened the scope of social-security extension. He led the fight for cloture during the FEPC debate. After the outbreak of war in Korea he urged economic controls and an excess-profits tax. He fought the Kerr natural-gas bill and the basing-point bill. He went down the line for implementing Administration foreign policy and worked hard—and successfully—for the liberalized D. P. law. And although he opposed the McCarran bill, he was a co-sponsor of the Administration's anti-spy bill, as well as of an emergency-detention measure providing constitutional safeguards.

Mr. Lehman differed with the Fair Deal, however, in two significant areas—health insurance and farm policy. Last year he took a stand against the Administration's compulsory-health-insurance plan, but he has been seeking a compromise formula to achieve universal coverage without limiting the independence of doctor or patient. In farm policy he has also hewn to his own line. He opposed the Brannan plan but backed such Fair Deal measures as full funds for the farm-price-support program, medical care for rural areas, extension of old-age benefits to farm workers, rural electrification, and rural telephone cooperatives.

The city man who has made a specialty of farm problems is only one of the paradoxes that Lehman presents. Son of a Confederate veteran who was a close friend of Jefferson Davis, he favors the FEPC, bogy of Dixiecrats. A millionaire, he fights for an excessive-profits tax. A partner in a conservative Wall Street banking house, he became a staunch New Dealer.

Years ago Lehman told a questioner he was a Democrat because his parents were. This is obviously but a small part of the answer. He got an early look at how the other half lives as a worker at the Henry Street Settlement. There he met Al Smith. During World War I he worked for a time with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt. After the war, when he was back with Lehman Brothers, Smith appointed him a mediator in the garment industry, where he got a good look at a sweated trade—and what the unions were doing about it.

But apparently it was the stormy contest for the Democratic nomination in 1924 that put Banker Lehman into politics as a liberal. Outraged by the organized bigotry that defeated the Smith forces in the Democratic convention, he accepted when Smith asked him to be his campaign manager in the 1926 gubernatorial race and later finance manager in the drive for the 1928 Presidential nomination. Under the Democratic policy in New York State of "balancing the slate," Lehman was a natural choice for Lieutenant Governor on the Roosevelt ticket. He resigned his partnership in Lehman Brothers—and has never gone back to the banking business.

When the Senate recessed last month for the fall campaign, a number of measures introduced by Lehman were hanging fire—among them an anti-filibuster amendment to the Senate rules, a measure for assistance to the physically handicapped, a woman's-equal-status bill, an anti-desertion bill, and no fewer than six bills on medical research and facilities. Not many of these measures will get big headlines, but they are the kind of legislation that works slowly and almost unnoticed to mak United States a better place to live in.

HARTLEY E. HOWE edits a magazine in the popular-science field. He has written for Commonweal, Survey Graphic, *and other publications.*

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Snatch as Snatch Can

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IT IS just about three months since the President said in a message to Congress: "We must take action to insure that the increased national defense needs will be met, and that in the process we do not bring on an inflation." Success, he added, would depend very much on the exercise of restraint by all sections of the community. For the arms program requires a diversion of resources from civilian production and by increasing employment tends to bring about an increase in money incomes. Allowing for some expansion in total production, there will nevertheless be a decline in the volume of goods available for consumption relative to the growing volume of purchasing power. Consequently, if everyone in a position to do so demands maintenance of his customary living standard, still more if he seeks to improve it, the pressure of rising income on a limited supply of goods is bound to result in inflation.

Since the President spoke, there has been much more talk about "restraint" and "sacrifice" but little evidence of the practice of these virtues. The wave of hoarding which began in July and continued through most of August subsided as it became apparent that talk of scarcity was vastly exaggerated. But those weeks in which a large section of the population seemed bent on "getting while the getting was good" have left their mark on the economy by stimulating a great expansion of credit and by giving a strong boost to prices.

Such restraint as can be observed is due to government action. The new tax act is taking a bigger bite out of pay envelopes and corporation tills and may have slowed down personal expenditures a little. On the other hand, increases in both wage and dividend income tend to offset the effect of higher taxes. Moreover, the critical situation of the nation did not inhibit lobbyists from pushing hard, and not altogether unsuccessfully, for concessions to various special interests. Consideration of an excess-profits tax was postponed until after the elections, and the interval is being used by a host of propagandists to obtain further delay or, if that proves impossible, to insure that the tax will be "soft." Their most potent argument is the assertion that a high excess-profits tax is inflationary because it encourages business concerns to indulge in all sorts of wasteful and extravagant practices. If that is true, and the last war provided a good deal of evidence to support it, what a comment it affords on the patriotism of private enterprise!

The action of the Federal Reserve Board in imposing fairly severe restrictions on instalment and mortgage loans is perhaps the most effective restraining measure yet undertaken. It has already begun to slow down sales of automobiles and other consumers' durable goods and should before long deflate the housing boom to some extent. But what howls of indignation these curbs have inspired! Sellers of durable goods are denouncing the Federal Reserve because the restriction of instalment credit has curtailed their sales, which, of course, is just what it was intended to do. Real-estate interests and both building employers and unions are aggrieved by Regulation X, which provides for higher down payments on new houses: it is, according to a Memphis builder quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, a "socialistic" move. And when the National Production Board on October 18 tentatively suggested to construction-industry leaders a ban on the building of places of amusement, such as bowling alleys, dance halls, and race tracks, it encountered bitter hostility. Everyone is against inflation in theory but in practice objects to any anti-inflationary measure that tends to disturb his own business.

THERE are signs that tax increases and credit curbs are beginning to check the advance in prices of certain kinds of goods, but the general trend is still upward. In the past week increased prices have been announced for a wide variety of commodities, including newsprint, beer, shirts, suits, shoes, and carpets. Almost invariably the manufacturers declare that the increases are necessitated by higher labor and material costs, but they never give details of a kind that would enable the public to check the validity of this explanation. In many cases, I suspect, increases in costs are more than offset by declines in overhead charges brought about by full production and the need for less intensive sales efforts.

Certainly company reports provide no evidence that rising costs are putting a crimp in earnings; on the contrary, aggregate profits are moving steadily upward, whether expressed as a percentage of sales or of capital employed. For the third quarter of this year corporate earnings, before taxes, according to an estimate in *Economic Indicators*, a publication of the House-Senate Economic Committee, were at the annual rate of $40 billion as against $28.2 billion in the third quarter of 1949.

It is clear that in many cases corporate managements are marking up prices to whatever level they think the traffic will bear. By so doing they hope, perhaps, not only to produce dazzling balance-sheets for their stockholders but to protect themselves against both future

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price ceilings and excess-profits taxes. They too are "getting while the getting is good."

Strange to say, most of the pundits who provide financial comment for the daily press offer little criticism when business takes advantage of a sellers' market in this manner but reserve their indignation for trade unions which follow suit. With very nearly full employment and a definite shortage of skilled workers, there is now a sellers' market for many types of labor. As a result, some unions going to management to seek higher wages have found themselves bowed inside almost before they started to knock on the door. For instance, in August, the Chrysler Corporation voluntarily reopened its contract with the United Automobile Workers, signed earlier this year after a prolonged strike, with an offer of a ten-cents-an-hour increase. It explained this generosity by referring to the pre-Korean contract between the union and General Motors and stating that its policy was to secure "premium labor" by overbidding competitors. Practically every concern in the automotive field has since agreed to similar increases, and a good many firms in other industries have likewise anticipated union demands.

It is asking a lot of human nature to suggest that, in the national interest, unions should turn down such offers, especially when the companies making them are known to be raking in enormous profits, or to expect other workers to refrain from pressing for comparable benefits. That does not alter the fact that a general advance in wage rates which follows the pattern of the last three months will more than compensate for increases in the cost of living and will undoubtedly add to inflationary pressures. True, many of the better-heeled corporations can afford to pay their workers more without raising prices, but others may not be able to do so, and when demand for goods is very strong it is the high-cost firms that set the pace.

I feel, therefore, that it is unfortunate that the unions have not taken a firmer position on the wage-price problem. In the long run both they and the nation at large would have been better served had they asked employers only for such increases as would offset the higher cost of living in return for agreements not to raise prices. As it is, we have prices and wages starting to chase each other up that familiar spiral staircase, and with each passing week the difficulty of halting this inflationary game grows greater. Price rollbacks and wage freezes are unlikely to do the trick, and if the dollar's purchasing power is not to shrink a great deal farther we shall have to endure really drastic credit restrictions and new taxes which will hit pocket-books of all sizes.

"Germans in Front"

BY CAROLUS

Frankfurt, October 15

IN THE Kaiser's time a large framed picture captioned "Germans in Front" used to hang in every school and public building in the country. It showed the British Admiral Seymour, commander of the international force gathered to intervene in the Chinese war of 1900, ordering the German contingent to march at the head of the attacking column. The picture's commemoration of this honor and the evidence it offered that the German soldier was the best in the world were as pernicious a stimulus to the nationalist and militarist instincts of the generation then growing up as the famous slogan *Deutschland über Alles*.

Fifty years after that joint intervention in China, five years after the most frightful military catastrophe in German history, the United States, like Admiral Seymour, puts its trust in the Germans. But though unemployed generals are delighted, the people's response this time is very different. There is no Kaiser Wilhelm II today to address an expeditionary force with the ringing words: "Conduct yourselves as the Huns did, so that for a thousand years no Chinese will dare to oppose a German." The generals and politicians may preen themselves on America's need of their help, make their conditions, set their price, but the people turn a deaf ear and say, "Not for us."

Seldom has a nation been placed in such a dilemma. Between Scylla and Charybdis, the fifty million inhabitants of West Germany are at their wits' end. Looking eastward, they see the condition of their countrymen in the Russian zone and shudder at the thought of meeting the same fate. Turning to the west, they face the even more frightful prospect of a war in which Germany would be the battleground and its annihilation certain. They feel they are bound to the West, and yet even more than they hate the Russians they hate the West for placing them so fatally "in front."

For months a film called "Herrliche Zeiten" ("Glorious Times") has been a smash hit in West German movie theaters. It presents a review of German foreign policy from 1900 to 1950 put together from contemporary newsreels. The title is taken from the words with which Wilhelm II greeted his people at the turn of the century. "I am leading you into glorious times." The tone is strongly pacifist; militarism and the authoritarian state

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are blamed for Germany's misfortunes. Before the Korean war the film could be considered a lesson in democracy; today it seems to be a burlesque of democracy. A young worker who sat next to me commented, "That's all very fine, but look at what the Americans are doing now. Instead of leaving us in peace, they want to make soldiers of us again; they even give us weapons."

Eugen Kogon, a Catholic writer whose reputation has spread far beyond Germany's borders, expressed the feelings of my neighbor at the movie, and of other thoughtful Germans, in the September *Frankfurter Hefte*:

> The remilitarization of Germany presupposes that the Allies' five-year effort to extirpate German militarism and National Socialism was all a mistake and must be reversed. The destruction of the German war-industry potential is viewed now as criminal folly. In spite of Nürnberg and Landsberg, German generals and soldiers are to be welcomed as companions in arms. Though Germans are still considered unreliable, they are to be furnished weapons in the hope that they will fight on the right side—and stay on that side. The Western Allies know that powerful forces are blocking democracy in the West German state, that hundreds of thousands of key positions are again held by former National Socialists; yet they expect a West German army to be a democratic army and to have no political aims. . . . The repugnance to military service felt by so many people, especially by the younger generation, is regarded as shirking or as a sign of political immaturity. . . . Apparently no thought is given to how the Czechs and Poles and other East European nations under the Soviet yoke will react to the creation of a "democratic" German army made up of German refugees from Silesia and the Sudetenland.

FOR the moment, the firm stand taken by France at the New York conference of the three Western Foreign Ministers has given Germany and the world a reprieve. No one doubts, however, that the projected remilitarization has only been put off a few months. The people are being prepared for it psychologically; the political maneuvering has started. The Allies' authorization of an increased police force means that rearmament, if still "cold," is under way. It is of course valiantly supported by the official and half-official "democratic" press, now the rich pasture and playground of former Nazi journalists and Göbbels propagandists—the publishers are to be rewarded for their good behavior with fifteen million marks of American funds. A majority of the persons questioned in Gallup-type polls are said to be for remilitarization. Unquestionably, however, the masses are against it, and the whole country is racked by the violence of people's feelings on the subject.

Even the Bonn government reflects this division. Chancellor Adenauer favors remilitarization. Dr. Heinemann, until recently his Minister of the Interior, has opposed him, ostensibly because the Chancellor did not inform his colleagues about his conversations with the Allies, and because he wanted to remove the new enlarged police force from Dr. Heinemann's control. Actually the cause of the conflict lay deeper. Adenauer represents the West German Catholics, whose spiritual head, Cardinal Frings of Cologne, has come out officially for military service. "When God's order is attacked or threatened at its very foundations," the Cardinal has said, "states have the right before God—nay, the duty if there is no other way and if there is a reasonable chance of success—to restore that order by force of arms."

The Protestant church of Germany has taken a position directly opposed to the Cardinal's. It has stated: "We deny categorically that the existence of the church can be assured and Christendom saved by war. Anyone who understands the inner nature of the church must know that the congregation of Christ betrays its Lord if it depends on political or military action." Heinemann, who has fought both the resurgence of Nazism and the personal policies of the Prime Minister, is president of the Evangelical Synod. As such he was the second man in the Bonn government. Because of the many irreconcilable differences between the two men, and especially because of the uncompromising stand of the Protestant church against remilitarization, Heinemann felt obliged to hand in his resignation. Adenauer, despite his desire to maintain the semblance of a united Cabinet, finally accepted it. Heinemann is an intimate friend of Pastor Niemöller, the spiritual leader of German Protestantism, and Niemöller has asserted forcefully: "Nowhere is it written that the church cannot live in a Communist society. If it could not, it would not be the church of God, which hell itself cannot harm. A united Germany, even under Communist rule, is better than a divided Germany, with its western half erected into a separate state by Rome and Washington."

Dr. Heinemann and the Protestants have a powerful ally against remilitarization in the Social Democratic Party under the leadership of Dr. Schumacher. The chairman of the Federation of German Unions, Dr. Böckler, is a Social Democrat, and the hard core of the federation's five-million-strong membership is made up of Social Democrats. If there is a truly respected and popular man in Germany it is Dr. Schumacher, with his one arm and one leg and the marks of his ten years in a concentration camp. Since Berlin and East Germany are predominantly Protestant and Social Democratic, party politics as well as an intelligent foreign policy have led Dr. Schumacher and the other Social Democratic leaders resolutely to oppose remilitarization. The Communist Party's loss of influence and virtual disappearance in West Germany are largely due to this stand. The Social Democrats are ruthless foes of the Communists and of Communist Russia, and the concentration camps and

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political prisons of the eastern zone are filled with them.

Schumacher has maintained from the beginning that it was useless to arm West Germany unless the United States and England kept sufficiently large forces there to guarantee that it should not become the chief battlefield in the war with Russia. "It won't help us," he insists, "to have the Western powers win the last battle against Russia. Unless they win the first, on the Weichsel and the Oder, Germany will cease to exist." So long as the victory is uncertain, he will have no part in Adenauer's plans for "contributing to the defense of Western civilization." The remilitarization eagerly awaited by the old generals looks to him like another bid for political and economic power by the same reactionary groups which used to control the country. The talk is of German divisions to defend the West. But in the end on whose side will these divisions fight—the West's or the East's?

Schumacher is a true patriot who desires above everything else to see Germany reunited and to prevent a new war. That is what distinguishes him—and Heinemann and Niemöller—from Adenauer. The Social Democrats therefore refuse to join the red-baiters, who will only succeed in galvanizing the feuding fragments of the German Communist Party into new life. They do support police measures against sabotage and the threats of civil war emanating from the eastern zone. A large number of workers, goaded by rising prices into taking part in the current wave of strikes, are being suspected of communism, but the United States and the other Western powers will be running a great risk if they sanction a German army which may be used by the industrialists behind the Adenauer regime to protect their power and profits. Hundreds of the largest German enterprises and thousands of smaller firms have contributed to the Communist Party in West Germany "just in case."

The five wasted years of the Allied occupation are now being revenged. Every opportunity to build a genuinely democratic state has been fumbled. The men responsible for Hitler and the Second World War were never friends of democracy and the West, are not now, and never will be, but nothing has been left undone that might help them to regain their ascendancy. On the other hand, those groups which placed their hopes in the West have been pushed aside. They and the masses of the people feel they have so little to defend that the cry "Germans in front" evokes no response today.

OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

V. Anything Goes in Pennsylvania

BY ROBERT BENDINER

PENNSYLVANIA politics is not for queasy stomachs. Neither is it for orderly minds, likely to be unhinged by bizarre inconsistencies. This is a state in which Democrats investigate Republican corruption in Philadelphia and Wilkes-Barre, Republicans investigate Democratic corruption in Pittsburgh, and both are properly scandalized, but only by their own findings. It is a state in which Republicans denounce the Democratic nominee for governor as both a "fuzzy-minded pink" and a vicious "labor-baiter," while Democrats cite charges by the most reactionary Republicans that the G. O. P. nominee is only a phony liberal. It is a state in which the Attorney General is barred from practicing law in the principal city on the ground that he lacks "good moral character and repute."

In this welter of paradox it is perhaps dreamy to talk of issues. Actually the millions of decibels of noise that pour out, the reams of campaign paper, have more to do with personalities than issues. To be specific, they have to do with Richardson Dilworth, the corporation-lawyer-turned-crusader who in a political life of four years has become the Democratic candidate for governor; his opponent, Superior Court Judge John S. Fine, pious churchman and long the boss of the powerful Luzerne County Republican machine; mild, dignified Francis J. Myers, President Truman's faithful party whip in the United States Senate; and fiery, short-cropped Governor James H. Duff, running to succeed Myers over the prostrate form of the Grundy machine, which he pummeled almost to death in the primary.

As in other states, the nation's unpreparedness for the fighting in Korea promised to be a powerful aid to the Republicans in the early days of the campaign, only to fade with the sudden shift in our military fortunes. Judge Fine is fond of talking about how the Truman Administration spent "forty-six thousand million dollars more than all other Presidents together, including Franklin D. Roosevelt in his first two terms," the implication being that all the money went down a sewer pipe because our forces were not in position to make a quick kill where they had never expected to fight. And Duff wants

NEXT WEEK, in our last pre-election issue, this series will be concluded with a survey of the New York political scene by Robert Bendiner and an article on California by Carey McWilliams.

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the voters to know that victory in that contest was "due to MacArthur and to nobody else in the universe," though the General appeared to be caught as flat-footed as the rest of us. Much of the steam was bound to go out of this issue, however, particularly when the conservative Philadelphia *Bulletin* printed voting records of the city's Congressmen showing the Republican delegation lined up solidly against economic aid to Korea last January and the Democrats just as solidly in favor. Senator Myers has been asking all over the state where the Republicans were when it came to helping Korea, without expecting to get an answer.

McCarthyism as such seems to have made little dent in the state. Duff himself was among the Republicans who denounced the Wisconsin wild man at the last Conference of Governors. But this is not to say that the electioneering is free of the scent of red herring. Far from it. Communism and subversion are being pushed as traditional Republican campaign staples. "Do you know," Fine asks his audience, "that when the Communists took over Russia . . . there was only one Communist to every 2,770 Russians? Do you know that today in our own United States there is one Communist to every 2,700 Americans and that if you count in Communist sympathizers and suspected sympathizers, there is one to every 300 Americans?"

The hitch is that it is Fine who does the suspecting, and for his purposes a good proportion of Pennsylvania Democrats apparently fall into the evil category. This is because the head of their ticket, Mr. Dilworth, was once chairman of the Philadelphia chapter of Americans for Democratic Action and is still a member of the national board. After what happened in Philadelphia in 1949 one would think the Republicans would be happy to forget the A. D. A. That was the year in which William Meade, the G. O. P. city chairman, described that outspokenly anti-Communist haven for liberals as "sinister . . . shocking . . . infested hothouse of reds . . . denizens of the red underground . . . criminal fringe . . . dangerous mad dogs," etc. The results included the first Democratic sweep of Philadelphia in half a century, a fine assortment of libel suits (one plaintiff has already collected handsomely in an out-of-court settlement), and ultimately the ditching of Mr. Meade, who compounded his stupidity by guessing wrong in the primaries.

In spite of this happy episode the Republicans are back at the old stand this year, but they are somewhat more circumspect. Judge Fine now talks of A. D. A. as "a notorious socialistic organization" and suggests that both Myers and Dilworth "openly welcome subversive support" when they allow this "pink-hued" group to campaign for them. The strategy is born not of ignorance but cynicism. Neither the Philadelphia *Bulletin* nor the *Inquirer*, both Republican papers, takes this line on the A. D. A., though neither has much use for its policies. The *Inquirer*, in fact, lashed out against Meade for his scurrilous campaign last year and in the end supported Dilworth, who takes time off from subverting the government to serve as its counsel. Whether Fine is taken in by his own turgid rhetoric I can't say, but I can say definitely that Governor Duff knows better. The approach failed dismally in Philadelphia, but the Republicans hope for more success with it in rural areas.

IF DUFF were not the skilled campaigner that he is, and if he were not leaving behind him a record of competent administration in Harrisburg, he would be in a tight spot for a line to take. Having run in the primary as the Teddy Roosevelt of Pennsylvania Republicanism, the inveterate foe of the black Grundy machine which has long run the state party as an adjunct of the Pennsylvania Association of Manufacturers, he is at a disadvantage in attacking much of the Truman program. By inclination a moderate of the Ives–Margaret Smith school of Republicans, the sixty-seven-year-old Governor is forced to fall back on the formula that welfare spending is essential, let reactionaries scream as they will, but at the same time there must be limits, and economy, and full play for "free enterprise." In foreign policy he regards himself as an anti-isolationist, though he doesn't think we can afford "to spread ourselves too thin." When his own candidate, Senator Vandenberg, was counted out of the Presidential race in 1948, he turned to Taft, but not, his aides let it be known, because he really favored the Ohioan or his policies. It was a case of taking anyone rather than Dewey. As for the Taft-Hartley act, he would modify it along the lines proposed by Ives but not repeal it.

All in all, a vague middle ground, difficult to stand on and for a less talented vote-catcher extremely hard to sell. But Duff has color. He has the appeal of one who has successfully routed a collection of greedy mossbacks, with whom, by the way, Harold Stassen, the "carpetbagger" president of the University of Pennsylvania, mistakenly cast his lot. And, finally, the Governor can point to a record of achievement in cleaning Pennsylvania's slag-poisoned rivers, in improving its roads, and in at least making a start toward revamping the state's almost medieval system of caring for the mentally diseased.

The political complexion of Pennsylvania is such that Duff would be almost certain to go to the Senate if it were not for several special circumstances. One of these is that his opponent is popular and highly respected, a liberal who, as a good Roman Catholic, can hardly be branded a Communist. In a state that has traditionally suffered the senatorial services of Grundy hacks, Francis J. Myers enjoys the unusual prestige of being a Pennsylvanian second in command of his party's forces in the Senate. He has devoted considerable energy to flood-control work,

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which will stand him in good stead in some areas of the state that are usually taken for granted by the Republicans.

Another weakness of Duff's position is the implacable enmity he has aroused in the rival faction of his party. Higher-echelon Grundy men are sitting out the campaign and will lose no sleep if the party goes down to defeat, but on the county level politics still rises above "principle" and the ranks are being closed behind the chosen standard-bearers. All too eager to heal the breach, Fine has posed for photographers shaking the hand of his Grundy rival, Jay Cooke, but Duff remains adamant and will have no reconciliation.

Duff's real cross in the campaign is his running-mate, the political judge. Local experts assure me that, on his own, Fine would have little chance of beating the dynamic and hard-hitting Dilworth, that in fact he can be elected only if Duff sweeps him in. The danger to Duff, on the other hand, is that Fine will pull him down. Luzerne County, where the Judge holds sway, is one of the least savory regions of the state, and the common expectation is that some of its politicos will ultimately be indicted. The Democrats attribute Fine's damaging presence on the ticket to simple necessity. To beat the Grundy crowd in the primary Duff needed all the support he could get from various county machines. Fine's was vital, and his candidacy was the price.

To drive home the nature of that candidacy the Democrats treat their audiences to recordings of speeches on the subject made, not by one of themselves, but by Grundy Republicans during the primary. I have one of these, from an address by Representative Kunkel, who opposed Duff for the nomination. I quote:

> Let me tell you that during Fine's reign racketeering in Luzerne County has been turned into big business. It's been organized and systematized. There is a take of about a million dollars in a normal year, cut and distributed according to plan. A percentage goes into a boodle chest controlled by the political machine.
>
> The Luzerne County machine milks the slot-machine and lottery rings, the gambling dens, the whiskey and beer trade, the number games and the other rackets. Exploitation and shake-down have been reduced to a fine art. Pipe lines into the state police and the liquor board give ample warning if anyone from the outside tries to interfere. The police records show that in Luzerne County a man can get away with practically anything if he travels in the right political circles.

When I asked a Republican campaign official how his party answered this sort of thing, he replied, with fine moral fervor, that the Democrats should be ashamed of themselves for leaning on Republican speeches. Couldn't they stand on their own feet? Besides, it was just a "family quarrel" that has been all patched up. Other Republicans reply to this, and to the more familiar revelations of municipal corruption in Philadelphia, that the crime record in Kansas City and St. Louis is worse, that the federal grand-jury investigation "is nothing more than Democratic political claptrap," and that, above all, their opponents should look at Pittsburgh, where Democratic officials are at present involved in an unlovely scandal of their own.

This last point is a telling one, and the Democrats are uneasy about the possible reduction of their normally heavy margin in the southwestern corner of the state. The Pittsburgh scandal revolves around the alleged weakness of local officials for having their summer houses built and maintained with city-owned materials and by city employees. Not surprisingly, Governor Duff lost no time in superseding the local district attorney with Charles Margiotti, his own Attorney General and the man whose character made so unfortunate an impression on the Philadelphia bar. It is true that Margiotti was once associated with some gamey individuals in the slot-machine business; it is also true that he is a keen criminal lawyer, and Philadelphians with no personal interest in the matter suggest that he is being barred from practice in that town because of the business he could probably divert from present channels.

Governor Duff

BOTH Duff and Fine are concentrating their fire on Dilworth rather than Myers. This is partly because the Philadelphia city treasurer has been spearheading his party's campaign, is the recognized leader of the reform movement which has already begun to scrape off the corruption with which the City of Brotherly Love is encrusted, and takes a gusty delight in personalizing his assault on political sin. In part it is because "Dizzy Dilworth," as his enemies call him, has a dangerously good chance to win.

To weaken the almost solid support he enjoys from liberal and labor quarters, Republican campaign strategists have been getting out releases on "Injunction Dilworth, Labor-Baiter, Strike-Breaker, and Hypocrite." This strange line of attack, coming from ardent supporters of the Taft-Hartley act, is based largely on the fact that Dilworth's law firm back in 1946 obtained an injunction to limit picketing at a plant of S.K.F. Industries, its client. Moreover, the Republicans indignantly

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complain, "he has not given a forthright indorsement of labor's aims and objectives."

It is true that an occasional trade-union leader, notably the president of the Hosiery Workers, is opposed to Dilworth, and that a few others are for him with a wait-and-see attitude. But the overwhelming majority are working hard for him, both in the C. I. O. and in the A. F. of L., and this includes the very local, 2898 of the Steelworkers, which suffered the injunction. Officials of the local have issued a statement pointing out that Dilworth was on leave of absence from the firm at the time, and from the candidate himself last year came the statement: "I am opposed to injunctions and always have been. In my opinion injunctions lead only to violence and bitterness between the parties which make doubly difficult any equitable settlement of a labor dispute."

On balance, it is believed that the ugly primary fight in the Grand Old Party, the possible effect of the Luzerne revelations on the rural vote, and Dilworth's tireless campaigning, which began last spring, combine to give the dapper, well-spoken ex-captain of marines a real chance, although Democratic governors are only a little more common in Pennsylvania than wild kangaroos. No Democrat since the Civil War has ever carried Philadelphia in a try for the governorship, but Republican leaders privately concede that Dilworth will. He captured the city by a margin of 122,000 last year, but that was largely, as one Republican ruefully admitted, because the people of Philadelphia were "obviously disgusted with certain people in the city government." They will have to feel the same way this year in Philadelphia and in about the same volume, without their fellow-voters getting comparably worked up over the milder municipal sinfulness in Pittsburgh, if the Democrats are to make the grade. But in a close campaign in which personalities prevail over issues, the experts are not overlooking the possibility that Democratic Dilworth may go to Harrisburg and Republican Duff to Washington.

VI. Taft's Mortal Struggle

BY HERMAN KOGAN

Cleveland, October 18

ALL the jargon of their trade—"fraught with significance," "tremendous importance," "struggle for political survival," "momentous decision for the voters"—is used by the political editors and commentators as they discuss the contest in Ohio between Senator Robert A. Taft, "Mr. Republican" himself, and his bantam foe, State Auditor Joseph T. Ferguson. They might, with some justification, paraphrase the comic gag line and say, "Well, we're saying it because you know it's true."

The Senatorial election figures in Ohio will have a meaning far beyond the gain or loss of a Senate seat by reason of Taft's role in his own party and in the political life of the nation. If Taft wins, he will remain a power in the G. O. P., still able to make trouble for the Truman Administration, Democrats generally, and the few progressives in his own party. If he wins with a large majority, he will have a lot to say in the Presidential-picking months of 1952. He has made the usual disclaimer about not wanting to be the Republican candidate, but after a whopping victory over Ferguson he could hardly withstand a "draft" by conservative Republicans.

His defeat would also have wide consequences. For one thing, organized labor would become an even greater force in national politics, since it would have won its biggest battle against its Enemy No. 1. It has been slugging away at Taft without reserve, and has been registering union members and educating them on the issues. Ferguson's election would also give both the Administration and labor another supporter in the Senate, for Ferguson promises to go down the line for both. And it would mean the virtual disappearance of Taft from national affairs; he has told friends that if he loses he will never run again for any office.

That Taft realizes the power of labor's punch became clear to reporters traveling with him on his county-by-county tour when the state's record-breaking registration of some 3,000,000 was announced. A Cincinnati reporter who has covered many Taft campaigns said to me: "Never saw the old man so crotchety, so discouraged." Taft was evidently aware that such a registration was largely the work of the A. F. of L.'s League for Political Education and the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee.

His staunch backer, Wilbur Gradison, the Cincinnati broker who is managing the Taft-for-Senate Committee, took a rosier, if more naive, view of the large registration, claiming it meant that union men were going to throw off "the yoke of oppressive union leadership" and join "free men" in voting for Taft. Gradison's committee has been plugging away diligently on the organization and propaganda front, issuing all sorts of printed material, from the *Buckeye Bulletin*, which warns that "sinister forces have invaded our state to tell us

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how to vote," to postcard-size photographs of a smiling Taft, to whom are attributed the virtues of "honesty, ability, experience, humanity, courage, brains."

TAFT started his post-nomination job of talking to the voters later than Ferguson, but in recent weeks he has been making three or four speeches to every one of his opponent's. Crowds at most of the Taft rallies have out-numbered those at Ferguson rallies in the same cities. Taft's arguments have followed a familiar line. He sees the Korean war as the result of the "inconsistent foreign policy of the Administration" and the Soviet Union's "outrageous, aggressive attitude." He still thinks that Dean Acheson is a bungler and that only a Congress organized by Republicans can prevent "new blunders" in foreign policy. He doesn't shy away from the Taft-Hartley act; in fact, his stoutest detractors sometimes express admiration for the way he invites questions from obviously hostile audiences like those in Youngstown, where he was roundly booed, and other industrial centers. He insists his labor law helped the "individual laboring man and woman." The Taft-for-Senate Committee has distributed several thousand orange-black-white dodgers which invite people to "look at the law" and see how much better it is than the Wagner act.

Taft pays little attention to Ferguson but takes a harsh view of the "labor czars" who, he says, are using "Little Joe" as their "tool." He snarled "Labor carpet-bagger!" at Walter Reuther, the U. A. W. chief, who told a union meeting at Columbus, "Taft has been wrong on every domestic and international issue since he's been in Congress. He is either dishonest or a fool—and I don't think he's a fool." Reuther and others who have dared to invade the Ohio River valley are "members of that left-wing coalition" which wants to "wrest control from Democratic leaders and establish a socialist-labor government."

The Union Labor League, a coalition of state A. F. of L. and C. I. O. groups with headquarters in Columbus, is putting out a stream of pamphlets attacking Taft, the most notable of which are a comic book presenting his career with slapstick sarcasm and a 212-page guide to union speakers. The guide, denounced by the Taft people as "a mass of lies, libelous statements, and twisted distortions," contains passages from his anti-defense speeches, a record of every vote cast by him in the Senate, and allegations that his grandfather, the father of President William Howard Taft, was a mine and railroad speculator who "built a thick wall of dollars between all the Tafts and the hard things of life."

Taft claims that a substantial number of union men, "despite coercion by their bosses," will vote for him and points to the existence of an Ohio Labor League for Taft. This was organized last August by Willis O. Hall, of East Liverpool, center of an Ohio section where most union men have always voted Republican. Hall, a member of the A. F. of L.'s National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, says Taft is the "workingman's best friend." Alvanley Johnston, retired president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and a bitter anti-Trumanite, recently told Taft he would do anything he could in his behalf, but the Brotherhood's present head, James P. Shields, made haste to emphasize that his union was not indorsing Taft.

Senator Taft

Ferguson has been in Ohio politics since he left high school four decades ago and is the kind of bumptious candidate who often walks off with the prize on Election Day. When he won the Democratic nomination last May and yelled, "I'll beat the pants off Bob Taft!" the Senator's adherents laughed and told jokes about Ferguson's supposed ignorance of world affairs. They laughed at his assertion that he would beat Taft by shaking more hands and at his inability to discuss such issues as corporation taxes and reciprocal-trade agreements.

LABOR'S vigorous intervention in the campaign and the improved situation in Korea, plus Ferguson's early continuous speech-making, have helped to make the odds almost even. For some reason, Ferguson has now cut down the number of his appearances, but he is still expected to give Taft a close run. Ferguson is well aware that if he wins, it will not be because the Ohio electorate dotes on "Little Joe" but because it has had enough of Bob Taft.

Ferguson calls Taft the "voice of obstruction and confusion" and links him with "those evil men in the Kremlin" as the "chief menace to American prosperity and world peace." He even shouted "Treason!" when Taft remarked early in the campaign that the United States had invited the attack on South Korea. He reminds the 300,000 Negro voters in Ohio that Taft allied himself with the Dixiecrats to kill the Administration's civil-rights legislation.

The Democratic Party is far from solidly united. Some of the veterans, like William A. Harlow, member of the Hamilton (Cincinnati) County Board of Election Commissioners, are satisfied that "Taft's beat right now," but other leaders are irked by the active role of the P. A. C. and L. P. E. in Ferguson's campaign. They complain that the "labor guys" are trying to take over

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their party, which, incidentally, has usually been pretty ineffective on Election Day.

The hands-off attitude of Frank J. Lausche, Ohio's "philosophical," independent Democratic Governor, does not help the situation. When Lausche was being considered as Taft's opponent early in the year, he declined and set off a few explosions by praising Taft's "seriousness and forthrightness." This was taken to mean that he would vote for Taft, which he later denied. He was then quoted as saying at the Governors' Conference that he did not know whom he would vote for. Again he had to deny that he was for Taft; he even went so far this time as to say that he thought the Republicans in Ohio were "panicky" and that "Little Joe" had a good chance of winning. But he still has not uttered a word for his bustling state auditor or against Taft. He is expected to win his own campaign against the popular state treasurer, Don Ebright, although many veteran Democratic county chairmen, to say nothing of the labor chiefs, who have refused to indorse him, are very sour about his attitude.

But all is not harmonious in the G. O. P. either. Some Republicans on the get-out-the-vote level in counties and precincts feel there has been too much concentration, money-wise and propaganda-wise, on the drive to reelect Taft and not enough on local candidates. They are threatening to go easy in urging the voters to send Taft back to Washington. And there are apparently more than a few Republicans who, despite their jokes about Ferguson's verbosity and lack of formal education, will either stay home on Election Day or, sin of sins, vote Democratic. These are the people who, as one expressed it to me, "cannot go along with the way Taft thinks with that nineteenth-century mind of his, unable to see beyond his cold nose into the future."

BESIDE THE POINT

The Republicans Train Them Young; Politics School for Teen-Agers Works Out Well.—Headline in New York *Herald Tribune*.

GINGERLY, tentatively, the Republican Party is working its way toward something big here. Instead of depending on heredity and luck to bring embryo politicians into the right fold, the G. O. P. has been operating sporadic seminars called "Schools for Politics," complete with lectures, volley ball, and pajama parties for the girls. The idea is solid as an elephant, but the scheme clearly needs developing. Why not consolidate these four-day, hit-and-run academies into a permanent institution—a kind of West Point for Office-Seekers? Of course there could be an Annapolis for the Democrats, and the curricula of the two would be identical. I cull at random from a hypothetical Fall Catalogue:

Handshaking 1 and 2: The first of these two courses is intended to increase the suppleness of the pupil's hand and to give him experience in the varied types of contact he is likely to encounter. Training includes squeezing bananas, milking cows, and gripping the handles of electric-shock machines. Handshaking 2 emphasizes the psychological—how to meet the limp shake, when to release the hand of an attractive female well-wisher when others are present, and how to break away from the hearty hand-pumper without losing a vote.

Evasion: A required course for getting around embarrassing questions. Various devices are explored and practiced, such as the side-tracking anecdote, the counter-question, the partial reply and half-truth, and the I-stand-on-my-record response. Special attention is given to the reply-by-exposing-the-questioner's-past, and students are drilled in how to reflect indignant pleasure that the question has been asked. Advanced students are trained to talk for as long as an hour without making a point. Dealing with an issue will result in failure for the course, and a second offense will be ground for expulsion.

Political Geography: A highly specialized course in the outstanding characteristics of towns in the particular state in which the pupil expects to make his career. Designed to provide such speech openings as "I am particularly glad to be here in Old Slime, where 40 per cent of this state's apple butter is produced, because my dear old mother made apple butter that was out of this world," etc.

Stunting (two terms): In this all-important course the student is guided step by step from fundamentals like posing with cheesecake through giving a creditable rendition of "Red River Valley" to the accompaniment of a hill-billy band. Advanced course includes actual practice in riding a horse up the steps of the Capitol and how to get the most dramatic effect in descending from a helicopter.

Languages: The academy places great stress on language work with intensive training on how to say "God Bless You—and Don't Forget to Vote for Me on November 7" in Italian, Yiddish, Swedish, German, Polish, Croat, Spanish, Irish brogue, and English.

Confidence: The student is trained to leap into a fireman's net from successively higher stories of the Administration Building. The object is to give him enough confidence in himself not only to run for any office, regardless of qualifications, but to say with conviction, "And when I take office in January . . ." even if he is a Republican running in Louisiana.

Elective courses include Recognition by First Name, Innuendo, Anecdotage, Useful Clichés, Flag-waving, and Letters Not to Write. R. B.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE SALZBURG SEMINAR, FOURTH YEAR

BY RICHARD HOFSTADTER

IT WAS my privilege this summer to attend a unique experiment and to teach at one of the most significant educational enterprises in the world today. I was one of thirty-two Americans who met with eighty-five European students at the fourth summer session of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, whose purpose is to further understanding of American civilization among European intellectuals and artists.

The Seminar was founded in 1947 by three Harvard students who, in spite of every warning that the idea was totally impracticable, succeeded in renting a site, organizing and transporting a library of Americana, raising funds without an assured faculty, and raising a faculty without assured funds. Now, after four years, the Seminar has grown into a stable organization, has augmented its summer offerings with a series of winter programs, and without paying faculty salaries has brought to Europe a roster of teachers that any college administrator would turn handsprings to get.* Its founders at first planned to offer a program of American studies only until European universities were able to do so. Even in terms of this limited objective it is unlikely that the need for the Seminar will cease to be urgent in anything less than a generation, but, in any case, enabling Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and several other nationalities to meet in a communal study of American civilization is a singular achievement that no European institution is likely to duplicate.

My colleagues and I came primed with the enthusiasm of our predecessors, but hardly sure what to expect. The student body, recruited on a highly selective basis among English-speaking European students, was unlike any we had encountered at home, not only in national composition but in maturity and caliber. The English group included the secretary of the research division of the Labor Party, a prominent young journalist and biographer, and a woman who arranges the BBC's famous third program. There was a Danish girl who recently translated the abridged Toynbee and Bertrand Russell's "History of Western Philosophy," an Italian editor who has translated Melville's "Typee" and "Omoo," a polylingual refugeé from Central Europe, still in his twenty-sixth year, who had in press a volume on displaced persons, written in German, and was writing a second in English. Many members of the student body would be welcome as colleagues at home. We were their teachers because we were Americans, and our primary subject was the United States.

We soon became aware that the formal pedagogical process was only a part, perhaps even the lesser part, of the impact of the Seminar. Students and faculty slept, ate, and worked in Schloss Leopoldskron, built in 1736 by the Archbishop of Salzburg and for many years the residence of Max Reinhardt, the theatrical producer. Studying with the Europeans, fruitful as it was, proved less important than living with them. Schloss Leopoldskron, which has a lovely façade but a pretentious and frequently gaudy baroque interior, contrasting sharply with our casual dress and manners, provided a singularly appropriate setting for what we were trying to do. The students were impressed too, I believe, by the difference between our methods of teaching and the formal system to which they are accustomed, in which the professor simply lectures before a passive audience of students. They may have been a bit surprised at first by our system of interchange between student and professor, by our coming to class in T-shirts and dungarees, by our appearances at the neighboring Bierstube, but they accepted it quickly and soon found in it a more fruitful medium of intellectual and social life.

The eager curiosity of our students about the United States was equaled by their ignorance about innumerable facets of its history and culture. We were rather forcibly reminded that until not very many years ago the interest of most Europeans in the United States was only a little more intense than, say, the interest of Americans in the history and culture of Australia. The students displayed a profound ambivalence toward America. With their own national lives so ravished, they feel a need to believe, as they have not believed before, in the cultural potentialities of the country which looms so large in the future of the West. For the same reasons they resent American wealth and power and what they feel as American complacency, but it is a resentment which for the most part could be candidly expressed under the conditions of our association.

Their minds move, by and large, on a higher level of abstraction than those of comparable American students, and they displayed a wider range of allusiveness and sensibility, but they had great admiration for the achievements of empirical research in American scholarship. They were particularly aware that in social psychology and the other social sciences the best work is now being done in America. Our literature, of course, they know well. Those who were studying history knew relatively little of American historical development. (A brilliant young English don confessed to me one day that he had always believed that Hamilton had fought a duel with Jefferson.) Their curiosity, if it had any particular focus, was aroused by those aspects of American life which,

* Including in literature, Randall Jarrell, Alfred Kazin, and the late F. O. Matthiessen; in art, Oliver Larkin, Jerome Mellquist, and James Johnson Sweeney; in anthropology and sociology, Clyde Kluckhohn, Margaret Mead, Talcott Parsons, and Edward Shils; in history and politics, Dexter Perkins and Benjamin F. Wright; in economics, E. Wight Bakke and Wassily Leontief; in philosophy, Alain Locke.

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like the Negro question and the problem of academic freedom, reveal the greatest disparity between professed national ideals and reality.

As everywhere, the seriousness of the students varied, but at its most intense it was deeply touching. Prowling the library at three o'clock one sleepless morning, I came upon one of the German students, a drama critic, still typing busily. He explained that during the war several years of his life had passed by without any but the barest cultural consummations and he felt that it was necessary to live fast to make up for time lost. "I will never again in my life have a chance to see some of the books I am using here." He was sleeping only five hours a night to make the most of his few weeks at the Seminar. He added almost apologetically, "At home I usually sleep a good deal more than that, you know."

The Seminar, which has taken all its financial support from private donors and foundations, is proud of its unofficial character, and we Americans came with no intention of acting, even in an unofficial way, as national apologists. The situation, however, had a dialectic of its own which forced us to be self-consciously, and I think honestly, American. One would always prefer to be understood simply as a person; but where men and women from fifteen countries are gathered together under one roof, generalizations about national characteristics become a favorite topic of conversation, and one is identified by his nationality above all else. Having learned to accept our role and to embrace our nationality, we fulfilled in spite of ourselves an unofficial cultural ambassadorship to the Europeans. National self-criticism among American intellectuals has a tendency, when discharged only among ourselves, to sink to a kind of desperate self-abasement. In the presence of our European friends, whose conceptions of America are so often unflattering and imprecise, self-criticism, if only in the interest of accuracy, could not afford to be moody or unrestrained. Thus we played the old theme of the American in Europe with a minor but perhaps refreshing variation.

As the weeks passed, the national groupings melted in the warmth of common interests into a common fellowship. It would be credulous and sentimental, no doubt, to find in the extraordinary circumstances of our association some momentous symbol for Western unity. In fact, when the students organized a general discussion of the problems of a Western European federation, one was struck, more acutely than by anything else, by the persistent strength of suspicions and hostilities and unresolved antagonisms of material interest. But our purpose was cultural, not political. What we were participating in, I came to realize, was a rather large and unusually purposive international salon, but with this difference from most salons of the past: our group was not recruited from privileged classes or in any significant measure from dilettanti. It had called together people who belonged together, and who would otherwise have never met. It was a triumph over a world that so often succeeds in isolating us and keeping us lonely.

The Cost of Secrecy

SECURITY, LOYALTY, AND SCIENCE. By Walter Gellhorn. Cornell University Press. $3.

OF THE incidental problems created by the cold war, none is more important or more perplexing than the question of how to reconcile the requirements of national security with the claims of individual freedom. The United States has been wrestling with this problem for nearly five years now; and few people can be much satisfied with the present state of our policies. But the times conspire against any calm or realistic reexamination of the problem. Between the McCarthys of the right, who would disqualify everyone on whom they can lay a taint of suspicion, and the Rogges of the left, who would stigmatize the governmental exercise of its right of self-protection as fascism, the atmosphere has been whipped up to a condition where reconsideration becomes almost impossible. In such a condition we tend to thresh and flounder; and in our floundering we may in the end discover that we are acting in the interests neither of national security nor of individual freedom.

Two years ago the Rockefeller Foundation made a considerable grant to Cornell University to support a study of the impact of the loyalty and security programs on civil freedom. With Professor Robert E. Cushman, one of our ablest and most thoughtful students of civil liberties, as director, a series of research projects has been carried out in an endeavor to bring a little fact and logic into an area so long dominated by emotion. "Security, Loyalty, and Science," by Walter Gellhorn of the Columbia Law School, is the first of the Cornell Studies in Civil Liberties to be published. It will be followed by seven other reports, among which will be a study of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by Robert K. Carr and a volume on the federal loyalty program by Eleanor Bontecou. In an age in which so much foundation money in the social sciences goes down the sociological rat hole, the Rockefeller Foundation deserves special mention for having backed this admirable study. The Cornell series will surely be indispensable to any sober attempt to reconcile the conflicting claims of national security and individual freedom.

Professor Gellhorn's book deals with the problem of secrecy in the field of government-supported scientific research. It is lucid, balanced, and judicial; and the very moderation of its tone makes its conclusions all the more impressive and devastating. It defines with scrupulous care the nature of the problem—the necessity for maintaining American scientific superiority in a period when our national survival is at stake. The next problem is: does our present system of official secrecy increase or decrease our chances of maintaining our scientific lead? "The question to be considered," Professor Gellhorn writes, "is simply whether restrictions upon the flow of knowledge within the United States may not so gravely impair this country's efficiency that the cost of secrecy will become prohibitive."

His answer is that we are moving fast into the area where we are paying too high a price for secrecy; if we continue much farther in the present direction, we may end by immobilizing our own scientific resources. The present system, for example, denies us the full advantages of scientific collaboration. The compartmentalization of work under the secrecy program leads to dupli-

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cation, to inadequate exploitation of work already accomplished, and to ineffective utilization of scientifically trained man-power. We cannot even train our young scientists properly. "At present no adequate course in nuclear engineering can be taught at a university," observes Philip Morse, head of the weapons-evaluation group of the Defense Department; "the material is too secret." Scientific progress depends on the free exchange of scientific insights; and when this is estopped, the scientific impulse itself is likely to wither away. These consequences of official secrecy, it should be noted, are entirely apart from the psychological effects of investigation and smear upon the individuals concerned.

What is the answer? Professor Gellhorn thinks that the loyalty program is a waste of time; he wonders whether the moment has not come "to consider whether the Loyalty Order deserves to be expunged." Loyalty checks are in great part irrelevant to problems of national security, since most of the people investigated do not have anything of value to communicate; in any case, the checks are too superficial to detect espionage. We should shift our emphasis, Professor Gellhorn contends persuasively, from "loyalty" to "security." When a position involves access to confidential matters of national concern, then "the probity of the incumbent must be assured" by the normal methods of investigation. Where there is a risk that infidelity may cause grievous injury to the nation, then the doubt should be resolved against the individual. But where there is no such risk, then the individual's opinions should be let alone.

There are occasional defects in the development of the argument. If the very process of restricting scientific information leads to stagnation, then, according to Professor Gellhorn's logic, we should have no reason to fear the Soviet Union, which must by now have lashed itself into scientific impotence. Professor Gellhorn should have added that, for the short run at least, a totalitarian state can bring pressures on individual scientists to which a democratic state will not resort. And it is odd to find the cautious statement that Soviet xenophobia only "very probably" exceeds our own: the difference between a Joe McCarthy in relatively impotent opposition and a Joe McCarthy in complete control of a totalitarian government is surely more than "probable." One is surprised too, for example, to find Marcel Prenant invoked as a presumably disinterested witness on the question of Lysenkoism; or indeed, to find *Science and Society* cited at all in this connection. But on the whole this is a much more realistic treatment of a difficult subject than Professor Gellhorn's *Harvard Law Review* article on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare would have led one to expect. He is clearly right in pressing the distinction between "loyalty" and "security"; and his suggestions for reconstructing our security policies deserve careful reading.

Perhaps some other volume in the series will explore a little farther the problem of an affirmative alternative to a loyalty program. The best answer to espionage, of course, is effective counter-espionage. I have often wondered whether part of the answer to the present dilemma does not lie in the improvement of our own clandestine techniques; so that we can hope to protect our own security by a successful and comprehensive penetration of the enemy's intelligence apparatus. Conceivably we might have to pay too high a price for the development of a skilled counter-espionage corps, but I wish that Professor Cushman and his colleagues would consider what that price is likely to be.

"Security, Loyalty, and Science" is the first volume in a series of basic importance for all Americans who care about their freedom. I hope it gets the wide audience it deserves.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Truman and Company

THE TRUMAN MERRY-GO-ROUND. By Robert S. Allen and William V. Shannon. The Vanguard Press. $3.50.

NINETEEN years ago Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, then young reporters, created a sensation with the original "Washington Merry-Go-Round," a gossipy, wisecracking, irreverent portrait of the Hoover Administration which mercilessly impaled some stuffed shirts and impudently thumbed noses at the capital's great and near-great. They were promptly fired by the respectable *Christian Science Monitor* and Baltimore *Sun*, but as professional practitioners of the merry-go-round technique—a concoction including intimate anecdotes, savage exposures, whizz-bang journalistic pyrotechnics, and a tenacious liberal bias—they have done extremely well, and in their particular field they have never been matched. Now Allen with a new collaborator turns his talents to portraying the Truman Administration. Some of the shock potential has worn off with the years; it seems easier to spot occasions when a brash phrase covers a slipshod approach or an undocumented judgment. But often the anecdotes are revealing and the epithets apt, and most readers will find the book immensely entertaining.

The Allen trademark is stamped indelibly. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder is not, according to this interpretation, really a "rock-ribbed, flint-hearted reactionary"; he is "merely ignorant, shallow, and incompetent." Senator McCarran of Nevada has turned the Judiciary Committee setup into "a patronage pigsty, crawling with hatchet men and incompetents." John Steelman of the "White House Gang" is "sycophantic, Old Guardish, and a jealous self-seeker." Joe Martin of Massachusetts, Republican House floor leader, "has neither brains nor wit nor charm," is "actively hostile to abstract ideas, ignorant of economics, inexperienced in foreign affairs, boring and banal as a public speaker."

In one sense Allen has mellowed, and because of it this merry-go-round edition is better than its prototype: he has kind words for a considerable number of able, intelligent, and conscientious public servants. He singles out about a dozen Senators and several dozen Representatives for accolades, in most cases well merited. He praises Acheson, Chapman, Donaldson, and Brannan in the Cabinet, and gives a first-class analysis of the really notable contributions of Clark Clifford to Mr. Truman's development in the Presidency.

The portrait of Truman himself is muddy, and the evidence is pretty clear that Allen and Shannon, like others, are still baffled by the American phenomenon that is the man from Missouri. Possibly it is accurate to say that in his first term Truman learned to be "a

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man" and that in his second he has not become "a great man," but it is not very revealing. It is true that Truman shrinks from "glittering" intellects but not that he gravitates always to "the less dynamic and aggressive"; Acheson and Symington, to mention just two, are exceedingly dynamic and aggressive. To emphasize that Democratic local candidates registered larger pluralities than Truman's in many states in 1948 is to understate the President's part in restoring his party's morale during the campaign and in making the Eightieth Congress a dominating—and for the Republicans a disastrous—election issue. On the other hand, the Supreme Court chapter fails to pinpoint Truman's singular obtuseness as he flung away, in four appointments, the gains Roosevelt had achieved at great pain and cost.

In short, this is exactly what the jacket advertises—merry-go-round journalism, not history or carefully documented analysis of key figures. It tosses off pungent comments on scores of characters, many of whom are almost unknown nationally but who wield power in the monstrous government machine in Washington. The reading is fruitiest, of course, when the Allen bludgeon is cracking the pates of his victims, and the old-time Allen zest for combat shows no sign of abatement.

WILLARD SHELTON

After 25,000 years . . .

THE LASCAUX CAVE PAINTINGS. By Fernand Windels. The Viking Press. $10.

THIS book is beautifully made, magnificently illustrated, and expertly written by specialists who combine scholarship with imagination and a high sense of adventure. I have no hesitation in saying it is one of the most fascinating books I have ever read and that any cultivated person will want to add it to his library.

On September 12, 1940, four boys discovered the entrance to a cavern not far from the town of Montignac, in the Dordogne country east of Bordeaux. What they saw made them alert their school teacher, who in turn alerted the Abbé Henri Breuil, France's outstanding scholar of prehistoric art. It was not difficult for the Abbé to ascertain the overwhelming probability that the caves had not been entered since the last Magdalenian occupants departed some 25,000 years ago. The state of preservation is nothing short of miraculous, and by their quantity and quality the images painted and engraved on the walls rank with those of Font de Gaume, a few miles away, and Altamira, in northern Spain. Which is to say that very great art is here.

Fernand Windels took the 160 black-and-white photographs and 8 color plates which, quite apart from the text, make this book unique. (Earlier publications had to depend primarily on sketches copied after original paintings.) Because of the fact that the paintings exist in several superposed layers, Windels used infra-red photography for many of his plates. He prepared the text in collaboration with Annette Laming, assistant at the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. A brief but absorbing summary of the contents is provided by A. Leroi-Gourhan, assistant director of the same museum. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes of Oxford University has contributed a sympathetic preface, and the Abbé Breuil a personal note.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Toynbee on War

WAR AND CIVILIZATION. By Arnold Toynbee. Selected by Albert V. Fowler from "A Study of History." Oxford University Press. $2.50.

THE impatience of the eavesdropper and, to some extent, the indecent curiosity of the Peeping Tom have marked Arnold Toynbee's reception in this country. Historically self-conscious, we Americans want to know where we stand, and like high-school seniors we turn to the prophecy of the man who writes all the class yearbooks. This invidious interest, though it is inherently sterile, is frankly avowed by Albert V. Fowler, the editor of "War and Civilization," who announces in his preface that when scattered passages of "A Study of History" are "culled out and brought to bear on the single problem of war in our contemporary life, Mr. Toynbee stands forth in the full power and eloquence of his prophetic role."

What Mr. Toynbee so eloquently and powerfully says amounts to a sweeping denunciation of all those who would trust to the arts of war to maintain "civilizations." In the first chapter Mr. Toynbee affirms his belief that at present the number of such votaries is large and that accordingly the world of today is war-stricken. Allowing that faith in war is sustained by the fact that war appears to be the source of such virtues as courage, loyalty, and unselfishness, Mr. Toynbee demonstrates that the concept of military virtue is an anachronistic illusion. What was good for Achilles is something else in the twentieth century. Militarism, Toynbee argues, can only be an acceptable source of virtue in the absence of other sources, "in a milieu in which social forces are not sharply distinguished in people's minds from the non-human natural forces."

Having demonstrated the moral inexcusability of war for sophisticated moderns, who are unable to worship bellicosity as a natural state, Mr. Toynbee then advances to a description of the appalling social consequences of war. Using the example of Sparta, he suggests that the military state is such a tense organism that it lacks the flexibility necessary for an adjustment to new problems. Sparta collapsed as soon as it was called to Hellenic supremacy. Militarism in this case entails what Toynbee in a brilliant chapter on David and Goliath calls the "worship of an ephemeral technique." As soon as this technique is superseded, either technologically or politically, breakdown is inevitable.

However, even if such rigidity is avoided, the effect of war is disastrous, for the military appetite is uncontrollable. Either, as was the case with Assyria, military expansion will provoke an overwhelming coalition of the opposition, or, as in the case of Tamerlane and Charlemagne, expansion will be so rapid and indiscriminate as to exhaust the victor. Once drawn, in other words, the sword is never sheathed. In fact, the very act of forging the sword demands an attention that through displacement alone handicaps the development of the peaceful arts. For all these reasons, Mr. Toynbee concludes, not only can militarism not save civilization, but it "has been by far the commonest cause of the breakdowns of civilizations during the four or five millennia which have witnessed the score or so of breakdowns which are on record up to the present date."

The very scope of this conclusion sug-

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gests that its impetus is not immediate. The bulk of the selections in "War and Civilization" are taken from Part IV of "A Study of History," in which Mr. Toynbee analyzes the breakdowns of civilization. Thus Toynbee's statements are part of a larger pattern, and their relevance depends on the debatable questions of whether there are civilizations, and whether these civilizations *are* born, and *do* grow, break down, and die. It is only in these special terms that Toynbee's prophecies have any genuine significance. This is not to say that Mr. Toynbee is outside the range of historical criticism. It seems, for example, doubtful that the eighteenth century did actually witness the decrease in belligerency which Mr. Toynbee ascribes to the period when war was the sport of kings. The hard distinction between the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the nationalist wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is shaky. And surely Mr. Toynbee overstates the effect that a single event, the Second Messeno-Spartan War, had on Spartan life. It should also be noted that Mr. Fowler has not included Toynbee's important chapters on war and industrialism, in which Toynbee makes some curious errors on the role of the professional officer in the American Civil War.

But if Toynbee is fallible, it is fair to note, in rejection of a tiresome accusation, that he is also original. He is not simply one more ecumenical bard reciting the same legend. In fact, Toynbee's theory of the role of war in civilization is substantially at odds with what appears to be the traditional view. That is the view, first adopted by Plato and later shared by such diverse figures as Machiavelli, Hume, Nietzsche, and Veblen, that war is not only a creative phenomenon but is in fact the source of the state and of much in the way of class and property that the state implies.

However, originality and prophecy are two different things. And the nature of Mr. Toynbee's talents as well as the area of his investigation discounts Mr. Fowler's prophetic claim and our own vulgar expectations. Mr. Toynbee is best at the assembly and exposition of historical materials, and at the interpretation of myth. When he is engaged in these congenial tasks, as in the chapters on Sparta, Assyria, Tamerlane, Charlemagne, and David and Goliath, Mr. Toynbee is a master of lucid presentation. His stock of idea and metaphor is rich, his similes sparkle, his terminology is picturesque and stimulating, his scholarship always illuminating. That his material is often unfamiliar is another cause for applause from those delighted readers who are simply interested in history. But to those who seek a talisman for the future or an argument for the present, Toynbee affords no satisfaction. To force apocalyptic wisdom out of descriptive prose is to prepare a juiceless synthetic meal.

JOSEPH KRAFT

The Art of China

PRINCIPLES OF CHINESE PAINTING. By George Rowley. Princeton University Press. $15.

IT CAN be said that the Orientals and the West have tried to subdue to consciousness quite different areas of experience. The West has devoted itself to history, the physical environment, and practical method; the Orientals have concentrated on religion, introspection, and aesthetic experience. Thus the rich terminology developed by the Hindus for introspection makes precise distinctions between sensations and states of mind that our own culture deals with as more or less undifferentiated. The Chinese, for their part, devised an almost equally elaborate terminology for the subjective effects produced by art.

Art, according to the author of this sumptuous and informative book, has been the dominant bent of Chinese civilization, to such an extent that "all . . . other [Chinese] activities seem to have been colored by their artistic sensitivity." The art of arts in China seems to have been painting, and the codification of its principles as it was practiced there surpasses in psychological refinement anything similar in the West. What is aimed at is a fixing in words of varieties of aesthetic effect rather than of technical means. The vocabulary of Chinese art criticism makes fast modes of aesthetic experience that we in the West usually prefer to leave to the indefinitely subjective, or at best try to describe with words borrowed from the most general aspects of life. Doubtless the intimate relation between literature and painting in China, sealed by the

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practice of calligraphy as an art, contributed no little to the creation of this vocabulary. Many Chinese painters were also writers who turned out verse and criticism along with their pictures; an even larger proportion of them were amateurs, "gentlemen painters," in so far as they pursued their art in conjunction with more formal vocations as officials and public men. The Chinese painter seems to have been early accorded a much higher cultural as well as social status than his Western counterpart; he was expected to be a kind of scholar first of all, literally conscious of all the references of his art, and then a seer in whose art aesthetic effect was merged with mystical state.

The Chinese connoisseur looked to painting for insights into the nature of reality that were accepted as hardly less valid than those expressed by the verbal expounders of religion and being. A picture was read like a poem, and more than a poem. And it was an even more serious error than in the West to regard it principally as a part of *décor*. It is true that Chinese painting could be very decorative and that it was increasingly subordinated to decoration, but this has been done, it seems to me, judging by the results, at a more serious cost than in the case of almost any other art. For it violated the Chinese picture's function as an object of contemplative pleasure and perverted some of its most essential plastic elements. I believe this to be true in spite of the fact that the absence of full color and strong modeling in Chinese painting and its, so to speak, passive naturalism gave the decorative a foothold from the beginning. The emphasis on brushstroke quality and subtlety of dark and light values, and the exploitation of empty space were equally important elements that of necessity resisted the decorative. In view of this, it is my hunch that Chinese painting became as decorative as it now seems only toward the end of its development two or three centuries ago; and it is this that is responsible for the present insipidity of so much of it.

Most of the Chinese art we see in Europe and America strikes me as being late. It has all the characteristics of an art whose development had long ago brought it to the point where it was possible to rationalize the means to a standard repertory of effects and to control these effects with a sureness that guaranteed success—but only within limits and only at the price of spontaneity and freshness. What we get in the end from this sureness within limits is the pat and the pretty. Its lateness, its decorative prettiness, its corruptedness, together with its naturalism, would seem to account for the relative quickness with which Chinese art was accepted in the West, once popular taste in the West was ready to accept exotic art; we began to acquire a taste for chinoiserie a hundred years before any of us ever looked at an Egyptian statue as something more than an archaeological curiosity. The only historical precedent I know of for the easy viability of Chinese art is Hellenistic sculpture, another art that was the late and rationalized product of a naturalistic tradition—as is also, incidentally, our own Western academic art, which, aided by the facilities of industry and science, outdoes the other two in the ease with which it conquers the taste of foreign cultures.

These remarks are, of course, not intended as a criticism of Chinese painting as a whole. Some excellent paintings are reproduced in Mr. Rowley's book, excellent for their abstract qualities as well as for their apprehensions of mood through nature. Beside them most Western landscapes of mood would appear obvious and even coarse. And when it comes to the use of the brush, that use which conveys exact feeling with every touch and harmonizes each touch, as an individual facet of feeling, with the unifying emotion of the whole picture—then the Chinese masters certainly have no equals. CLEMENT GREENBERG

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

STERILITY, no doubt, is a "folk" concern and has been a source of tragedy and dramatic conflict in the lives of individuals. But as John Steinbeck presents it in "Burning Bright" (Broadhurst Theater) it has no reality either as a primal folk concern or as a factor in individual human lives. His handling of the theme is pretentious and crude; his appeal to the universal is forced and false; as for the "poetic prose" in which the piece is written, it is so fancy and bad that its only effect is one of acute embarrassment.

Steinbeck universalizes his play by presenting his four characters as circus folk in Act I, farm folk in Act II, and sailor folk in Act III. And then there are the names he has given them—Joe Saul the husband (and don't think he's ever called Joe), Friend Ed (who is always called Friend Ed), Mordeen, the ever-loving wife, and Victor, who supplies the child the husband can't provide.

The characterizations are rather vague—of course one of the presumed advantages of "folk" writing is that characterization isn't necessary—except that Joe Saul, as the evening wears on, becomes so intolerable with his folk whining about his blood and his line that you wonder how even a folk wife could go on loving him.

The cast does far better than you'd expect, given their assignments—particularly Barbara Bel Geddes, who manages to impart an air of flesh and blood to the part of Mordeen and thereby demonstrates her abilities as an actress. Kent Smith as the sterile husband can't quite overcome the hazards of his role, and Howard Da Silva is hard put to it to make palatable the unrelieved sweetness and kindness of Friend Ed. Martin Brooks has the easiest part, that of Victor, which at least has a touch of reality, though it becomes pretty attenuated toward the end.

The settings are nice.

The title is taken from William Blake's "Tiger, tiger, burning bright," and the poem is printed in the program. I have not yet worked out its connection with the play.

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Films

MANNY FARBER

HOLLYWOOD has spawned, since 1946, a series of ugly melodramas featuring a cruel aesthetic, desperate craftsmanship, and a pessimistic outlook. These films ("The Set-up," "Act of Violence," "Asphalt Jungle," "No Way Out") are revolutionary attempts at turning life inside out to find the specks of horrible oddity that make puzzling, faintly marred kaleidoscopes of a street, face, or gesture. Whatever the cause of these depressing films—the television menace, the loss of twenty-four million customers since the mid-forties—it has produced striking changes in film technique. Writers overpack dialogue with hackneyed bitterness, actors perfect a new quietly neurotic style, while directors—by flattening the screen, discarding framed and centered action, and looming the importance of actors—have made the movie come out and hit the audience with an almost personal savagery. The few recent films unmarked by the new technique ("Born to Be Bad") seem naive and obsolete.

The new scripts are tortured by the "big" statement. "All About Eve" (story of the bright lights, dim wits, and dark schemes of Broadway) hardly gets inside theater because most of the movie is coming out of somebody's mouth. The actors are burdened with impossible dialogue abounding in clichés: "Wherever there's magic and make-believe and an audience—there's theater"; timely words: "We are the original displaced personalities"; and forced cleverness that turns each stock character into the echo of an eclectic writer. The new trick is to build character and plot with loaded dialogue, using hep talk that has discolored cheap fiction for years. In "The Breaking Point" the environment is a "jungle," the hero a morose skipper "with only guts to peddle" who decides after a near-fatal gun battle that "a man alone hasn't got a chance." His spouse comes through with "You're more man than anyone I ever knew."

The stories, parading success-seekers through a jackpot of frustration, are unique in that they pick on outcasts with relentless cruelty that decimates the actor as much as the character. As a colored interne moves through the "No Way Out" blizzard of anti-Negro curses, everything about him is aggressively spiked so that a malignant force seems to be hacking at him. When the cruel aestheticians really click on these sadistic epics, foreboding death lurks over every scene. Camera men dismember the human body, accenting oddities like Darnell's toothpick legs or Pat Neal's sprawling mouth to make them seem inanimate; faces are made up to suggest death masks, expanded to an unearthly size, spotlighted in dark, unknown vacuums; metaphorical direction twists a chimp's burial ("Sunset") into an uncanny experience by finding a resemblance between monkey and owner. Under the guise of sympathy these brutally efficient artists are sneaky torturers of the defeated or deranged character.

Directors like Wilder and Mankiewicz mechanically re-create the unharnessed energy and surprise of great silent films with an elegantly controlled use of the inexplicable. In the jitterbugging scene of "Asphalt Jungle" Huston delicately undresses the minds of four characters and gauchely creates a sensuous, writhing screen, though his notion of jive is so odiously surrealistic it recalls Russian propaganda against the United States. The first glimpse of the faded star in "Sunset," using Bonnard's suede touch on Charles Addams's portraiture (a witch surveying her extensive real estate through shutters and dark spectacles) is lightning characterization with a poetic tang. Brando, in "The Men," commands a G. I. troop into battle like a slow, doped traffic cop waving cars through an intersection, but his affected pantomime electrifies the scene with the hallucinatory terror of an early painting by De Chirico. Movies have seldom if ever been as subtle as these scenes, or as depressing in the use of outrageous elements to expedite ambiguous craftsmanship.

To understand the motives behind the highly charged, dissonant acting employed today, one has to go back to the time-wasting, passive performance of an early "talkie." No matter how ingenious the actor—Harlow, Garbo, Lee Tracy—effectiveness and depth were dissipated by the uninterrupted perusal of a character geared to a definite "type" and acted with mannerisms that were always so rhythmically and harmoniously related that the effect was of watching a

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quiet, attenuated ballet. Directors today have junked the old notion of unbroken, consistent, river-like performance and present what amounts to a confusion of "bits," the actor seen only intermittently in garish touches that are highly charged with meaning and character but not actually melted into one clear recognizable person. Darnell's honestly ugly characterization of a depressed slattern is fed piecemeal into "No Way Out," which moves her toward and away from malevolence, confuses her "color," and even confounds her body. Her job—like the recent ones of Nancy Olson, John MacIntyre, Hayden—shouldn't be called a "performance" because it is more like a collage of personality, which varies drastically in every way to create the greatest explosion and "illumination" in each moment.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HAYDN was one of the great creative artists in music; but this doesn't mean that everything he wrote was a masterpiece. For example, the lost Violin Concerto in A (1765) which the Haydn Society discovered in the Benedictine Abbey at Melk, Austria, and has issued on an LP record (1017): to my ears it is one of the undistinguished products of a skilled eighteenth-century musical craftsman turning out the jobs he was hired to turn out. The performance by Edith Bertschinger and the Vienna Collegium Musicum under Anton Heiller is adequate; its recorded sound requires reduction of bass; and again the harpsichord that is used in accordance with eighteenth-century practice to fill in the harmony satisfies the pedant's passion for authenticity but not the listener's ear, since it is inaudible except as an occasional metallic timbre which doesn't fill in the harmony.

On another record (1016) are Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 7 and 8 (1761)—the first not only interesting to the historian with its unusual procedures but very engaging as something to listen to; the second with a charming first movement and lovely slow movement. They are well played by a Viennese chamber orchestra under Franz Litschauer; the more spacious and richly resonant sound again requires reduction of bass.

And on still another record (1018) are the Symphonies Nos. 87 (1785) and 89 (1787)—the first a small-scale work in Haydn's mature style, with an especially fine slow movement; the second less good. The beautiful playing of members of the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Hans Swarowsky is well reproduced.

As with Haydn so with Vivaldi, not all of whose works are as lovely as some. The characteristic loveliness is heard in the slow movement of the Concerto in A minor for viola d'amore played by Renzo Sabatini with the London Chamber Orchestra under Anthony Bernard on a London record (LPS 256), and the finale of this work and first movement of the Concerto in D minor are pleasant to listen to, but the rest is undistinguished. The performances seem good; the solo instrument sounds brash, the string orchestra veiled and far back; the bass is heavy.

A characteristic loveliness of a different, a luxuriant kind is heard in Delius's "Over the Hills and Far Away," which Tudor used for the opening scenes of his ballet "Romeo and Juliet," and which Beecham has recorded for Columbia with his Royal Philharmonic. The performance of this piece and of the charming music from Bizet's "The Fair Maid of Perth" on the reverse side again shows Beecham's recent tendency to slow up the music and linger over it; the orchestra's excellent playing is beautifully reproduced, though with weakness of bass in the middle of the Delius piece.

RCA Victor has issued a new recording of Franck's Symphony played by Monteux and the San Francisco Symphony. Monteux gives a rhetorically expansive treatment to pretentious music which I think is better played straightforwardly; and the fine second movement suffers from his slow opening tempo and many and excessive changes in tempo thereafter. The recorded sound is good, but with occasional leveling off of big sonorities.

Stokowski's performance of the Venusberg music from Wagner's "Tannhäuser" used to be one of his most dazzling achievements—dazzling in its flaming opulence of sound. But one is not dazzled by the thin, bodyless, leveled-off sonorities of the new Victor recording that he made with an assembled orchestra; and this quite apart from musical defects like the dragging of the marvelous closing pages. On the reverse side are the previously issued Wesendonck songs which Stokowski recorded with Eileen Farrell, and which have the beautiful sound that is missing on the "Tannhäuser" side.

On another London record (LLP 233) are Strauss's "Don Juan" and "Till Eulenspiegel" played by Clemens Krauss and the Vienna Philharmonic with much distorting underlining of points which Toscanini has shown don't need to be underlined to be made effective. The spacious and rich recorded sound is not constant in volume-level and brilliance.

A word about reproducing equipment. From what I hear about the operation of recent Webster record-changers and observed of the excellence of the Garrard I would recommend paying the higher price for the Garrard. The one I saw used two excellent-sounding Electro-Voice cartridges, which were inexpensive ($4.50), required no preamplifier, and tracked with five grams' pressure—though the changer mechanism needed seven grams to work with some old records. The Electro-Voice comes only with a sapphire stylus ($1.50); but there is now the possibility of converting it to diamond.

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Psychoanalysis on Trial: Readers' Postscripts

[In the following letters our readers comment on the three-part discussion of psychoanalysis printed in our issues of August 26 and September 2. Dorothy Ferman in The Psychoanalytical Joy Ride, criticized analytical therapy for its contribution to the break-up of her marriage. Fredric Wertham, director of the Mental Hygiene Clinic of Queens General Hospital, supported Mrs. Ferman's views. Dr. Gregory Zilboorg, associate professor of clinical psychiatry at New York Medical College, upheld the case for psychotherapy.]

"In My Own Case . . ."

Dear Sirs: When I read Mrs. Ferman's article [in *The Nation* of August 26] I could understand her bitterness but not her logic. The bare fact that her husband constantly sought the psychiatrist shows that he was a mentally ill person, and he seems finally to have been depressed enough to enter a sanitarium.

In my own case, when I began psychoanalysis I was a tense, depressed, inarticulate person. My husband and I had been living together for five years in a barely disguised state of enmity. Now, after eighteen months, though I am not yet completely cured, important changes have taken place. The periods of depression, which can be a torment, have been greatly alleviated. I am much calmer and can take the faults of those dear to me with equanimity now that I understand myself better.

Dr. Zilboorg's warning [in the issue of September 2] against blaming the science for the abuses to which people subject it is especially important. It is regrettable that many people who enjoyed Mrs. Ferman's article in the spirit of "I told you so" did not read Dr. Zilboorg's comments.

ALICE PRENNER

New York, September 24

"As a Social Worker . . ."

Dear Sirs: As a social worker I should like to comment upon Mrs. Ferman's report of her husband's psychoanalysis. Her own observations show that her husband was not well. It is not usual for an emotionally healthy person to enter a mental sanitarium merely as an escape or to express a belief in a peculiar form of therapy. But the seriousness of her husband's difficulties do not detract from Mrs. Ferman's dilemma.

It is true that a physician, psychiatrist, or social worker sometimes looks upon the patient as the center of his therapeutic effort and thus may overlook the effect of the patient's illness upon the patient's family. Members of the family have a right to be irritated if they feel that they are looked upon only as therapeutic adjuncts. If Mrs. Ferman had been referred to a social agency she might have obtained counsel which sought to strike a balance between the patient's welfare and that of his family.

Most social workers today regard analysis as a therapeutic measure that should be used sparingly and only when really indicated. But, as Mrs. Ferman asked, who shall decide when it is needed? I believe that in this instance additional professional advice should have been sought. The patient might have found more protection and integrity from a psychiatrist connected with a good clinic that functions through teamwork, supervision, and consultation than from one who works in isolation no matter how skilled and experienced he might be.

BRUNO HERBERT

Cleveland, Ohio, September 13

"Expert" Advice Discarded

Dear Sirs: A former pediatrician with a special interest in pediatric psychiatry, I am now busy with the rearing of my four children. Available instruction in child psychiatry in the Boston area was almost exclusively of the psychoanalytical persuasion. After about a year of attending conferences and reading case histories I became convinced that the preoccupation with penis envy, castration complex, eroticism, and the like was morbid and unnatural. I withdrew from the whole clique of professors, social workers, and nursery-school teachers, dropped my pediatric practice, and had a few more babies. I found that the mother-child relationship thrives best without the advice of "experts." Isn't this analogous to the husband-wife relationship which Mrs. Ferman argued might have done better with less help?

I am still unable to understand why psychiatry is called a science or even a "clinical science." It is hardly a body of factual knowledge whose truth can be demonstrated. You get better results when you treat it as an art.

PATRICIA WANNION, M. D.

Blue Hill, Me., September 26

Psyche and Pocket-Book

Dear Sirs: May I express my hearty appreciation of Dr. Fredric Wertham's incisive article [*The Nation*, September 2]. It not only brings out some of the rapidly developing weaknesses in modern psychoanalytic procedure, but helps to destroy the halos which analysts have placed over their omniscient craniums. For often whatever "adjustments" are brought about in the realm of the psyche are almost immediately counteracted by frustrations in that of the pocket-book.

I note that Dr. Zilboorg in his rebuttal admits that "in our age of propaganda and pragmatic go-getting, psychiatry and psychoanalysis have been oversold, as everything we have and do is oversold." This is a rather sad admission, especially since it relates to a practice which is supposed to deal with the delicate mechanisms of the psyche, and which certainly, if it craves the name of "science," is supposed to possess the highest type of objectivity.

JACK BENJAMIN

Brooklyn, N. Y., September 23

The Couch-Eye View

Dear Sirs: In your three-part discussion of psychoanalysis it seems to me that you have left out the opinion of the most important person—the one on the couch. To begin with, make no mistake about analysis. It is not a pleasant way out. Let us grant that analysis is a difficult time for the family of the patient; for the patient it is a harrowing ordeal.

Since the inception of my treatment, my husband has objected consistently, sometimes so vigorously that I have had to stop the analysis for months—not because I wanted to but because my analyst suggested that I was wasting my money under such conditions and that I must have a reasonably stable life to reap the advantage of treatment. My husband has been despondent, taken long trips without me, centered his affection on one child, fallen in love with someone else, and so on. Contrary to

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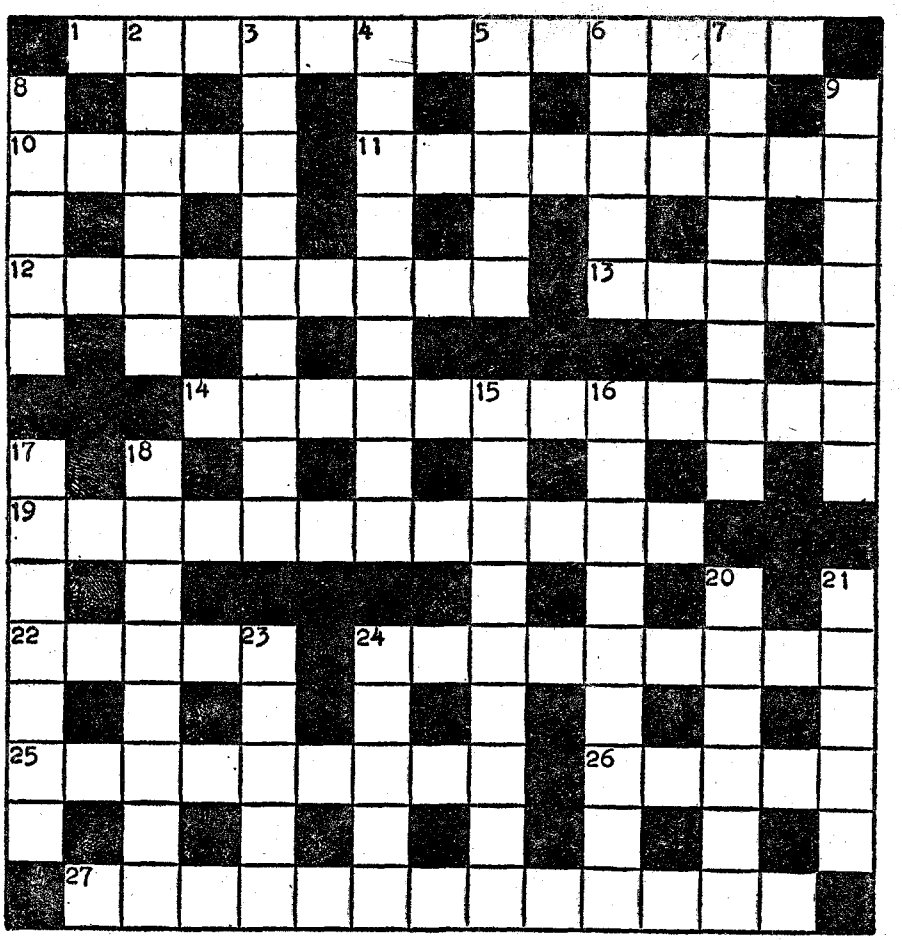
Crossword Puzzle No. 385

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1. Did Garry Davis once profess to be one? (3, 2, 3, 5)
10 It's not enough for the muses to be more than a number of sins.
11 Sea power? (4, 5)
12 and 8 down. Chatterbox? (9, 5)
13 The face on the stairs.
14 It has to be one, as well as Muskogee and Enid. (8, 4)
19 People are placed in an awkward position if they want to test its proverbial power. (7, 5)
22 and 8 Down. The tragedy of his life was not so real as his brother's. (5, 5)
24 Overspreading.
25 U. S. A.'s outer garments are included in it.
26 Bud, there's likely to be a hitch to this!
27 It'd be neat to place this after the main course! (5-3-5)

DOWN

2 Scourge of God.
3 A man often is, but proverbially a woman refuses to be!
4 A merry pot to stir for the nonce.
5 The swanky type?
6 Present.
7 Get title for Earl's joint, perhaps.
8 See 12 and 22.
9 Exposes Beta rays, not Alpha.
15 Is lack of air what makes it sour? (3, 2, 4)
16 Train, ring, or station this.
17 Doesn't 21 things.
18 Battle-cry. (3, 5)
20 How the isomer is split.
21 Eager to consent.
23 Nosey, perhaps.
24 Clear harbor of mine.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 384

ACROSS:—1 JERRY-BUILT; 6 OSSA; 10 HACKNEY; 11 REALIST; 12 NIPS; 13 ASTERISKED; 15 OYSTERS; 16 SAMURAI; 17 and 23 THE VERY IDEA; 20 DYNAMOS; 22 EXAGGERATE; 25 POMPEII; 26 INITIAL; 27 TOSS; 28 STAGECRAFT.

DOWN:—1 JOHNNY-ON-THE-SPOT; 2 RECIPES; 3 YANK; 4 ULYSSES; 5 LARGESS; 7 STICKER; 8 A STUDY IN SCARLET; 9 TALISMANS; 14 BELEAGUER; 18 ERASMUS; 19 YORKIST; 20 DOTTING; 21 MADEIRA; 24 DISC.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Mrs. Ferman's expectations, he has my sympathy and the sympathy of my analyst. We both understand compulsive behavior and know he can't help it. We do not feel, however, that his anxious state is a sufficient reason for me to give up my chance to get well.

The objection in our family is the expense. Yet it has been less expensive for me to get better than to stay sick. For ten years I went from one doctor to another paying sizable bills trying to get well. If I had accepted a diagnosis of rheumatic fever I would have been an invalid for the rest of my life and would have to pay out more for household help than the cost of the analysis.

Mrs. Ferman refers to the long time it takes to effect a cure. It does take a long time to break an old pattern that was formed through twenty years of living in a dreadful situation and twenty more years of re-creating it. Mrs. Ferman also says that if left alone she and her husband could have worked out their problems. In my own case we worked at them for fifteen years, not only failing to improve matters but apparently making them worse.

Of the statements of your three contributors the one that surprised me most was Dr. Wertham's that during "free association parents become more powerful figures than they actually were during childhood." What more powerful person than a parent exists? A parent can create a home where a child can blossom in happiness and security or cringe in rejection, setting a pattern so emotionally crippling that a lifetime of dejection, unhappiness, and even insanity follows. Analysis is too frightening an experience to endure for any reason other than that it is so much worse to stay as you are.

JANE MABLEY

Berkeley, Cal., September 25

Disturbing Characteristics

Dear Sirs: Dorothy Ferman's indictment of psychoanalysis is unfortunately and unnecessarily blunted by a certain naivete about the origins of mental illness and by her heavy resting of her case upon the apparently directive and therefore unorthodox behavior of the psychiatrist who advised her husband to get a divorce. Implied, however, are several disturbing characteristics of psychoanalysis today:

1. Its *failure as therapy* in probably a large proportion of cases. The number of one's acquaintances who have been in analysis for four or five years with no perceptible improvement is

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shocking. That doctors continue over a period of years to accept huge fees from suffering patients whom they patently are failing to cure is an extraordinary state of affairs. Many analysts seem almost to have forgotten that their job is to cure sick people.

2. The *freezing of orthodox psychoanalytic doctrine into dogma.* The analogy between the savage attacks upon analytic deviationists and those upon the political deviationists from Stalinism need not be spelled out. The professional psychoanalytic journals are filled with a curious theological type of discussion which rarely bears any relation to the behavior and ills of human beings.

MAURICE L. FARBER

Storrs, Conn., September 25

Adverse Publicity

Dear Sirs: I do not believe that Mrs. Ferman would have reacted with such wrath had her husband's disorder been physical and incorrectly diagnosed by her family physician. It is part of our *mores* that the medical doctor wears a mantle of authority and his failures are accepted graciously.

One of the wonders of our age is that medicine has dodged adverse publicity while psychiatry has attracted it—so much so that many persons undergoing treatment, and benefiting from it, are forced into secrecy. Their friends never know, and pontifically point them out as examples of people who have solved their own problems. It is apparent that fears developed from bogus opinions motivate the animus of people who carelessly label psychiatry a "crackpot business." Here is the failure of the psychiatrist: like the artist he has remained aloof and not taken his case to the people.

EDITH PRIGOZY

Brooklyn, N. Y., September 27

Education Needed

Dear Sirs: There is one pertinent issue which Dr. Zilboorg leaves untouched in his masterful answer to Dr. Wertham. What accounts for the existing gross misunderstanding of psychoanalytic theory and technique? I think that the fault lies largely with the American Psychoanalytic Association. The way to eliminate ignorance is education. Instead of following Freud's dictum on the need to expand the practice of psychoanalysis, the association has become a worse monopoly than its counterpart, the American Medical Association, by closing its doors to everyone but an M. D. Worse still, some influential analysts look forward to the day when lay analysis will be eliminated altogether.

Knowledge about psychoanalysis can come only from psychoanalysts. As Freud pointed out, "in medical schools the student's course of instruction is more or less opposite to what he would need as preparation for psychoanalysis." Dr. Zilboorg gives the impression that the law is responsible for the existence of quacks in the field of psychotherapy. Can he name any profession in which quackery has been eliminated by fiat?

CYRUS BASS

Chicago, Ill., September 22

References for Laymen

Dear Sirs: The general public has not been sufficiently warned that psychoanalysis is not a part of scientific psychology and that psychoanalytic psychiatry is not a part of scientific medicine. If intelligent laymen would consult such summaries as the fifteenth chapter of Knight Dunlap's "Personal Adjustment," and the fourteenth chapter of Laurance Shaffer's "The Psychology of Adjustment," they would have a better understanding of what the scientific psychologist thinks of psychoanalysis. Andrew Salter's recent book, "Conditioned Reflex Therapy," also offers a useful antidote. More detailed critiques may be found in Milton Harrington's "Wish-Hunting in the Unconscious," Joseph Jastrow's "The House that Freud Built," and Robert Sear's "Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts."

Concerning the curious fact that psychoanalysts and psychiatrists, when defending themselves against the accusations of the religious puritans and the anti-sexual philosophers, naively and unconsciously admit that they have abjectly surrendered to the anti-sexual taboos and conventions of their own environment, the inquirer may be referred to the ninth chapter of René Guyon's "The Ethics of Sexual Acts."

GEORGE R. WEAVER

Pasadena, Cal., September 20

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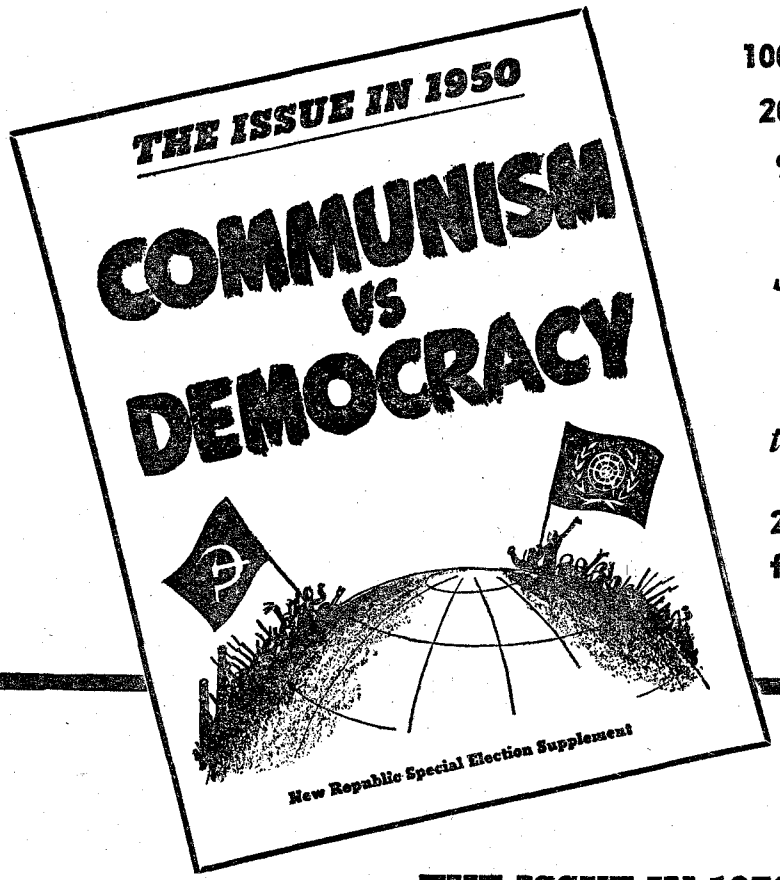

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